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Social Studies Curriculum

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EDWIN FENTON



Tradition and Change In Brazil

An Inquiry Approach



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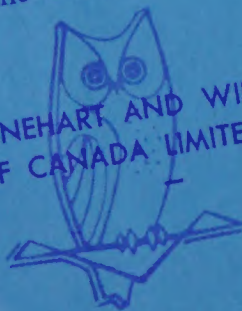
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Holt Social Studies Curriculum

GENERAL EDITOR

EDWIN FENTON

Tradition and Change in Brazil

An Inquiry Approach

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Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

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*For Andrew, Linda,
Jonathan, and Mary Jane*

Maps by Viewpoint

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To the Student

This is a new kind of textbook. Most social studies texts you have read in the past probably contained information about a particular subject, like civics or geography. The texts were written by one or two authors who organized their material into chapters, each with an important theme. There were numerous illustrations in the form of pictures, graphs, tables, and charts. You read or examined this material to learn the facts and generalizations it contained.

Instead of a number of chapters written by one or two authors, this text has sixteen readings. Each reading contains an article or at least one piece of source material, taken from a newspaper, magazine, book, government document, or other publication. An introduction, which connects one reading to another, and study questions, which will alert you to important points and issues, precede the article or source material.

Although maps accompany this unit, you will not find any other illustrations in the text. Filmstrips, transparencies for the overhead projector, and class handouts have been provided, however.

Both the written and the audio-visual materials have been chosen with great care. These materials have been designed so that instead of merely memorizing facts and generalizations, you will be asked to identify problems, develop hypotheses, or tentative answers to questions, and draw your own conclusions from factual evidence. Throughout your course in *Tradition and Change in Brazil*, you will be challenged to think for yourself and to make up your own mind.

Most students are able to study one reading in this text for each night's homework assignment. There will be some days when no readings from this book are assigned. Your teacher will find a variety of things he wishes to do on those days. He may wish to give tests, to assign supplementary readings, to study current events, or to hold individual conferences with students.

At an increasing pace since World War II, the nations of the non-Western world have become independent. A century ago, most of the people of these nations lived as their ancestors had lived before them. Ancient traditions bound them firmly to the past. Then came the impact of ideas, technology, and institutions diffused from the West. Slowly at first, and then in a rush, traditional ways of doing things have given way before the insistent demands of the modern world. Out of this turmoil, new societies have taken shape.

No one can hope to study a huge part of the world in one short period of time. Instead of attempting a superficial survey, this volume focuses upon one problem in one country: race relations in Brazil. All educated people should know about this problem.

We welcome you to an exciting adventure: the study of the ways in which a nation has developed a modern society and is now trying to solve one of the most pressing problems that man has ever faced.

Edwin Fenton
General Editor
Holt Social Studies Curriculum

How To Use This Book

The text of *Tradition and Change in Brazil* consists of sixteen readings which have been edited from published works or written especially for this course. Each reading follows a common pattern:

1. *The introduction.* Each introduction relates a reading to other readings in the course and supplies the essential background information.
2. *Study questions.* A few study questions call your attention to the most important points of the reading so that you can think about them in preparation for class discussion.
3. *The article or source material.* Each reading contains one or more documents, newspaper accounts, articles from magazines, or other forms of written material.

You are expected to read each day's lesson and to take notes on it before you come to class. Since your teacher will distribute dittoed material from time to time, you ought to get a three-ring looseleaf notebook which can hold both the material to be distributed and your homework and classroom notes.

Note-taking is a vital skill. We suggest that you read and take notes (using ink so that notes will be legible at final exam time) on the readings in the following manner:

1. *Write the reading number and title at the top of a piece of notebook paper.*
2. *Skim the entire reading.* Read the first sentence in each paragraph of the introduction. Next read the study questions and get them fixed in your mind. Finally, read the first sentence in each paragraph of the article or source material. When you have finished, try to state in your own words what the lesson for the day is all about. Skimming such as this should never take longer than a few minutes.
3. *Read the introduction and take running notes.* Do not read first and then read again for notes. Do not underline or mark the text in any way. Write down the major ideas from the introduction and any supporting evidence that seems particularly important. You need not use complete sentences, but remember that you may wish to study from the notes some months later, so take down enough information to make notes meaningful.

4. *Read the article or source material carefully and take running notes.* Do not read first and then read again for notes. Do not underline or mark the text in any way. Take the same sort of notes you took for the introduction. Put any conclusions you draw in parentheses to show that they are your own ideas.
5. *Go over your notes, underlining key ideas or words.* This procedure is the best way to begin learning the information in the lesson.
6. *Try to answer the study questions.* When you have finished studying your notes, try to answer the study questions for yourself. Do not write out the answers to the study questions. You would only be repeating the information in your notes if you do this. Use this step to see whether or not you got the important points from the reading in preparation for class discussion.

Two additional study techniques will be useful. First, keep a vocabulary list in which to enter all new words and their definitions. In many cases, vocabulary words have been defined in the text in brackets or in marginal notes. Second, keep your class notes and your reading notes on a lesson together in your notebook so that you can review for tests without flipping through a mass of paper to find material that goes together.

Your teacher will help you if you have trouble with this note-taking technique. He may occasionally spend time in class to demonstrate good note-taking techniques and will criticize your notes in an individual conference if you request one. Do not hesitate to ask for help.

Supplementary Reading Material

At the end of the unit, you will find a list of books suggested for supplementary reading. Most of these are paperback books. In some cases, teachers may add volumes to the Suggested Readings in order

to recommend books in your school library on topics that may be of special interest to you. Your teacher may have placed these books in the library or in your classroom. He may require you to read some of them or assign some for extra credit.

Beneath each of the books or pamphlets, you will find a brief description of what the volume is about. These descriptions will help you to decide which volume you want to read. You may also want to leaf through a number of the books suggested to get a better idea of what they are like. Some of the volumes are easier to read than others. Each student should choose something appropriate to his own interest and reading skill.

Your teacher may wish to make special rules and regulations about the supplementary reading material. Some teachers may choose not to use them at all. Others may ask you to submit short papers or book reviews based on the volume you select. Instructions for writing book reviews have been included as a handout in the audio-visual kit that accompanies this course.

*Tradition
and Change in
Brazil*



UNIT

2

*Race
Relations
in Brazil*

1 ARE BRAZILIANS PREJUDICED?

In the twentieth century, race relations trouble men almost everywhere. Prejudice and discrimination frequently mark contacts between differing races. Sometimes when people of two or more races live close together, they must find ways to control the breakout of open conflict between those who have different colored skins.

Each country has its own social system of regulating race relationships. The Republic of South Africa, where Africans and whites live in separate geographic areas, represents one approach to the problem. A mixture of segregation and integration in the United States represents another. In Brazil, a third pattern has emerged.

Social scientists who study the social system of a country ask a number of analytical questions in order to make sense out of the data they obtain. These questions often grow out of concepts that social scientists find useful to classify human behavior. Role, status, norms, and social class are among the concepts most useful for analyzing relationships among individuals and groups of people. *Role* means the functions or the tasks that are given to various members of a society. For example, women in the United States fill the roles associated with child-rearing. *Status* means the relative rank certain roles are given in society. In the United States, for instance, men who fill the role of a teacher generally have a higher status than those who have the role of an unskilled laborer. *Norms* are the standards of behavior that are expected from those who occupy a particular role. Senators and congressmen, for example, are expected to behave in certain ways. *Social class* means the large group of people who hold many things in common such as wealth, education, role, and status.

This unit focuses on race relations in Brazil. It will help you to answer such questions as "What factors shaped race relations in modern Brazil?" "What are the characteristics of those relations?" "What problems do they pose and what problems do they solve?" You will be encouraged to ask analytical questions about role, status, norms, and social classes as you analyze Brazilian racial relations. As you read the first article, which serves as an introduction to the entire unit, consider the following questions:

1. How may the author's frame of reference have influenced her observations on race relations in Brazil? What passages in the article give clues to the author's frame of reference?
2. Does skin color determine roles in Brazilian society? Do those who have dark skins (*pretos*) have the same roles as those who have white skins (*brancos*)? Does skin color determine status or class?
3. What norms govern the relationships between the races? For example, what norms govern contact between white-skinned and dark-skinned Brazilians?

Does Amalgamation Work in Brazil?

Era Bell Thompson is the international editor of Ebony, a magazine read primarily by Negroes in the United States. Ebony frequently carries articles on race relations. In this article the author compares social and economic opportunities for Negroes in Brazil and the United States. Accustomed to discrimination in her own country, Miss Thompson kept a sharp lookout for it in Brazil.

Era Bell Thompson,
 "Does Amalgamation
 Work in Brazil?"
Ebony, Vol. XX, No. 9 (July
 1965), pp. 27-41.

The second group of diners was leaving the tables in a busy Brazilian restaurant in the seaport town of Santos, but our food still had not arrived.

"We are being discriminated against," I said, finally. "And don't tell me it is economic!"

My companions, a white Brazilian and a dark one, said that could not be. To prove it, they called the harassed waiter and repeated what I had said. In voluble [rapid] Portuguese he denied the charge.

"Then ask him why have we, the only mixed group in the place, been sitting here for nearly an hour while everyone else is being served?"

A long discourse ensued [conversation followed] as the waiter explained how the fuel had suddenly run out, how the food we ordered was difficult to prepare—like fish in a place that specializes in seafood. My friends admitted that his excuses were weak, but insisted race had nothing to do with it.

"It is just one of those things," consoled the white Brazilian.

"It is only an oversight," soothed the dark Brazilian.

"It is racial," I repeated.

"No, no," protested the now alarmed dark Brazilian. "Such things do not happen here. I will prove it to you." He called the waiter back to our table. There was another lengthy discussion with the now perspiring man.



"He is very upset," translated my companions. "He says, 'How can I, a Portuguese, married to a colored woman, be prejudiced?'"

The marriage of Portuguese men to colored women, and the marriage of white women to colored men, is Brazil's way of solving a race problem before it begins. As the processes of amalgamation advance, the darker elements of the nation's population continue to disappear. With no Negro, there can be no Negro problem. Most

To "amalgamate" means to mix or unite.

"Prejudice" is an attitude of hostility directed against an individual, group, or race for their supposed characteristics. "Discrimination" is differing treatment of an individual, group, or race because of their supposed characteristics.

In Brazil, as in South Africa, "European" designates white-skinned people.

The following racial terms are frequently used in the selection:

- "brancos"—whites
- "morenos"—racially mixed people who look white
- "pardos"—people with mixed blood, Portuguese, Indian, African
- "mulattoes"—Portuguese-Africans
- "caboclo"—a pure-blooded Indian or a person of Portuguese-Indian descent
- "cafusos"—Indian-Africans
- "pretos"—Negroes

"Miscegenation" is marriage between people of differing racial groups. The "bleaching properties" refer to the fact that children of an interracial marriage are usually lighter in skin color than the darker parent. "Café com leite" is Portuguese for coffee with milk, a color somewhat darker than beige.

"Social mobility" refers to an individual's changing social position.

Brazilians believe they have no problem now; therefore there can be no racial prejudice or discrimination—no matter how long we waited for our fish. If incidents of discrimination do occur, they are economic, not racial, committed by foreigners, not Brazilians. . . .

Compared with the United States, Brazilians say, they do not have a race problem. They do, however, have racial prejudice and a system of discrimination based on skin color, which divides the population into three major groups. At the top of the ladder are the *brancos*, or whites. This includes Portuguese "whites," European whites, and "social whites"—the racially mixed visible white people called *morenos*.

At the bottom are the *pretos* or blacks. The large group in the middle are *pardos* or mixed-bloods: Portuguese, Indian, and African. The majority of the *pardos* are mulattoes, a Portuguese-African mixture. The Portuguese-Indian mixture is called a *caboclo*; the Indian-African, a *cafuso*. In some areas of northeastern Brazil the breakdown does not stop there, but adds the criteria of hair and features to the fantasy of color. Besides a handful of full-blooded Indians, only the *preto* (11 percent of the population) and the white European remain unadulterated [pure]. According to the most recent census charts, all three groups are becoming extinct as the number of *pardos* increases. Whether the bleaching properties of miscegenation will produce a beige or a *café com leite* nation, only time and genes will tell, but the desire is for and the trend is toward a white Brazil.

The darker a man is the greater his problems. . . . The Brazil I saw is neither the Negro haven it is reputed to be, nor is it the Negro's hell, but the Negro still finds more social acceptance there than in any other "white" country. They say that wealth and education can "make a black man white," and marriage to a white woman further enhances his social status. But with two out of three poor Brazilians illiterate, and the masses of the black people poor, "white black" men remain relatively scarce. Social mobility being faster at the lower end of the color spectrum [range], a black man of means and education can move into the *pardo* group without difficulty. A few become upper class "whites," but elite, never. They may marry white women of the same level or lower, but they seldom marry "up."

"My brothers have a dark schoolmate who is a frequent guest in our home," confided an upper class *moreno* woman. "We are very fond of him, but he could never marry my sister." Startled at the familiar phrase, I asked why. "In Brazil," she explained, "a man marries into the girl's family. And he goes alone. The student is accepted in our home, but his parents will never meet mine. They

are not on the same social level." Her sister is married to a mulatto. . . .

When I asked how many colored men were in Congress, a reporter said, "It would be easier to count those who are white." If a mulatto elects to be white, he is officially that and his driver's license says so, no matter how dark his skin. Because the determination of race in census-taking is left to the individual, and the line between *pardo* and *branco* is largely a matter of opinion, the population figure for whites (60 percent) is greatly exaggerated.

At least one president . . . and a vice-president . . . as well as a governor of Bahia and a mayor of São Paulo were mulattoes. Another mulatto lawyer . . . helped write the Brazilian constitution. A city hall was named in his honor. The list of mixed-bloods renowned in the field of arts and letters is too long to be recounted here, but important is the fact that leaders who in North America would be classified as Negroes are white people in Brazil. Left behind are *pardos* at the halfway point of absorption and floor-sweeping *pretos* who have not yet begun to fade. . . .

Color, or rather the lack of it, is the status symbol which permits the mulatto to rise high and fast in a white-oriented society with a white-nation goal. It also sets him apart from his darker brother. The feeling of envy by one and superiority by the other culminates [reaches a peak] into mutual hatred in the more bigoted [extremely prejudiced] areas of Brazil. "Mulattoes are more prejudiced against *pretos* than are *brancos*," [a] professor . . . told me between philosophy classes at the University of Bahia. "On a lower level, there is less distinction between them."

The most common charge against mulattoes by both *brancos* and *pretos* is that the mulatto "wants to be white." With all the emphasis on whiteness, I asked [an] anthropologist if it were bad to be black. "Yes!" he roared. "Nobody wants to be black!" . . .

Dr. Edgard Theotônio Santana is an eminent cardiologist [heart specialist] who lives in São Paulo. Born in Bahia of an illustrious family, he has position, education, culture, money, and a *caboclo* wife who represents four generations of Paulistas. The Santanas are patrons of the arts. Their pictures frequently appear on the society pages of local papers and they are active in civic affairs. Theoretically, he is an upper-class white man, but in reality he is black.

"Here prejudice is limited to darker peoples," he said, as he sat in the den of his art-filled apartment. "But some modifications are made when higher society is involved."

"For a *preto* to have a nice life here," commented dentist Aloisio Cruz, "he must be a professional man, must have a college degree."

A "status symbol" reflects the status, or the rank in society, of a person. In a society in which one's color or race is important, the degree of color may be a status symbol. In a society in which money is important, the size of a car or house or type of clothing may be status symbols.

"Anthropology" is the study of man and his cultures, especially primitive civilizations. "Sociology" is the study of the organization of people into social groups.

The word "caboclo" means both a pure-blooded Brazilian Indian and a Brazilian of mixed Indian and European ancestry. The word also occasionally means someone who lives inland. In the readings that follow, the word is used both ways, and you will have to determine the meaning from the context.

"Paulistas" are people who live in São Paulo.

Dr. Cruz lives in Salvador, Bahia, the "integration capital of the world." His large home is staffed with four servants and he owns a cocoa farm four hundred miles down the coast. Because he is dark, he says, he is unweleome at the clubs, a most important part of the social structure of Brazil. Dr. Cruz removed his two children from the Pan-American school because they "eould not get along" with their schoolmates, many of whom were sons and daughters of white Texans employed by . . . a government oil company. "In the old days," he mused, "most of the white people here were Portuguese. We all knew each other. Today Salvador is a city of strangers." . . .

Charges made in an article published in a Rio newspaper blamed residential segregation for the large percentage (70 percent) of Negroes living in the favelas [slums] and aceused renting agencies of refusing to rent to them. I saw no "Negro neighborhoods" in the cities I visited. It is true that the favelas are largely Negro, but so are the poor. Dark people of means told me they have had no difficulty in renting or buying in the neighborhood of their choice. White people have never demonstrated against a Negro neighbor. I asked the photographer if there were dark Brazilians living in his middle class, high-rise apartment building. He had to stop and think. "Yes," he remembered. "At least one." . . .

The biggest stumbling blocks to advancement for all Brazilians are poverty and inadequate educational facilities. Solve the economic problem, they told me, and the Negro problem disappears. Job opportunities for dark people are limited in many urban centers. They are well represented on the daily papers, hold high positions in the oil industry and on school faculties, but all too often they end up pushing a broom. Advertisements specifying "nice appearance" usually mean white appearance. The absence of Negro clerks in large city stores and Negroes in responsible positions in the "high fashion trades" such as clothing would seem to bear this out. . . .

The shortage of schools makes it difficult for any child to get an education, regardless of color. Only those with money can afford high school and private school tuition, and in many eases, only the white are admitted. To my surprise, the chief offenders are Catholics. Certain convents will not accept Negro girls. Youngsters in Rio rattle off the names of Catholic private schools that reject Negro applicants. There are several [Negro] priests, to be sure, but not onc Negro bishop. . . .

The Beginnings of Interracial Contact in Brazil

STATING THE ISSUE

In colonial times people from three distinct cultures populated Brazil. The original inhabitants were the Indians, who had occupied parts of the territory for thousands of years. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese established colonial outposts along the Brazilian coast. As their colony grew and the demand for labor increased, the Portuguese imported slaves from West Africa and the Congo-Angola region of West-Central Africa.

The Indian population of Brazil was never large. Scholars estimate that when the first white man arrived, no more than a million to a million and a half Indians lived there, primarily along the coast. As the number of whites and Negroes in Brazil increased, the Indian population suffered. Many fled into the interior where they were unaccustomed to living. Others died through war and disease. Although statistics are unreliable, the Brazilian census of 1872 counted fewer than 400,000 Indians.

No one is sure how many Africans were torn away from their villages and forced into the stinking holds of slave ships. No complete records were kept, and the fragmentary pieces of evidence we have are generally unreliable. Estimates of how many Africans left the continent as slaves over a 400-year period vary from 4,000,000 to 18,000,000. Statistics for Brazil suggest that about 2,000,000 pure-blood Africans were living there in 1890 together with an additional 4,500,000 mixed-blood (European-African, European-Indian, Indian-African, and combinations of combinations).

Only a small number of Portuguese migrated to Brazil. In 1890 the population of Europeans and those who passed for Europeans (a sizeable number) was about 6,000,000 and of those, close to 1,000,000 were Italians, not Portuguese. However small in number, the Portuguese dominated Brazil from the days of their earliest settlement.

Part 1 of this unit on Brazil traces the history of contact between the Brazilian Indians, the Africans, and the Portuguese. The readings will help you answer such questions as “What happened to each group when it came into contact with the others?” “What characterized the relationships between the Portuguese, the Indians, and the Africans?” and “What foundations of race relations were established in Brazil?”

2 THE INDIAN

The first Europeans to come to the New World called the original inhabitants Indians whether they referred to the highly developed Aztec of Mexico or the less developed Cherokee of North America. Yet, just as European countries differed from one another, groups of Indians varied widely in their economic, political, and social development. There was probably greater similarity between the Portuguese, Spanish, and English than between the Aztec and Cherokee.

Several varieties of Indians lived in Brazil. No large political organization such as that of the Aztec or Inca had united all Brazilian Indians into one culture. In the interior, nomadic tribes roamed the land, hunting or gathering wild vegetation for their living. The tribes who lived nearer the coast, however, had learned to farm. The two groups of Indians had developed quite different cultures, neither of which had much in common with that of the invading Portuguese.

Sociologists and anthropologists have identified four processes which can take place when two different cultures come in contact in the same geographic area. They are:

Amalgamation The physical or biological blending of peoples through such measures as intermarriage into a single, new cultural group

Assimilation A social process through which cultural differences between groups are gradually reduced or eliminated

Accommodation A social process through which conflicting groups settle their differences but retain their separate identities

Extermination The process by which the members of one group kill all the members of another group

All four of these alternatives were open to the Portuguese and the Brazilian Indians during the early years of their contact.

In Brazil, Europeans first came into contact with the Tupí-Guaraní people who lived near the coast. This group of tribes had the greatest influence of any Indian groups on modern Brazilian culture. The Portuguese learned their language in order to communicate with the other Indians of Brazil through Tupí translators. As you read the description of these Indians which follows, keep the following questions in mind:

1. How would you describe the Tupí economy? What goods and services did the Indians produce? How did they produce them? How would their techniques of production compare with those of the Portuguese? What could the Portuguese learn from the Tupí?
2. What kind of political system did the Tupí have? What were their political institutions? Who were their leaders? How were their leaders chosen?
3. What attitudes do you think Europeans would have toward the Tupí?
4. Which of the four processes described above would be most likely to take place between the Portuguese and the Indians? Why?

The Aborigines of Brazil

Charles Wagley is an eminent American anthropologist and director of Columbia University's Institute for Latin American Studies. The reading for today is taken from his introduction to Brazilian history.

The aboriginal population of . . . Brazil was never a dense one. Previous to the arrival of the European, it is probably safe to say that the area never held more than one to one and a half million people. These American Indians were not a homogeneous people: they were divided into literally hundreds of tribes speaking a variety of aboriginal languages, and they differed from one another strikingly in customs and in level of economic development. None of them were civilized in the sense of the Maya and the Aztec of Central America and Mexico or the Inca of highland South America. Generally speaking, there were in Brazil two ways of life among the primitive tribesmen: that of the tropical forest peoples, who were primarily horticulturists [farmers] and fishermen in the rain forest, and that of the Marginal or Semimarginal peoples, who depended upon hunting and food gathering, with some [beginning] horticulture in the open plains country and on the semiarid

Charles Wagley, *An Introduction to Brazil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 14-20 *passim*.

An "aborigine" is an original inhabitant of an area. "Aboriginal" means original or native.

plateaus. They spoke a variety of languages belonging to several distinct families. . . . Seldom was a tribe a political unit; rarely was there a tribal chieftain. The villages of a tribe were generally united only by a common language, common customs, and kinship deriving from intervillage marriages. This lack of unity among the Brazilian Indians was a major factor in their lack of resistance to the small groups of Europeans who came to Brazil after 1500.

Not all of the Indian groups influenced Brazilian culture in the same measure. The coast of Brazil was inhabited mainly by Tupí-speaking peoples. They played the major role in the initial formation of Brazilian culture, for it was with them that the Portuguese, the French, and the Dutch first came in contact. . . .

The coastal Tupí were tropical forest peoples. They cleared garden sites in the thick . . . forest along the coast and in . . . the north. Each year the men prepared the clearings by hacking away at the trunks with their stone implements and slowly burning the bases of the large trees. The whole site was burned over before planting. Women are said to have done the comparatively light tasks of planting and harvesting, and they were kept busy preparing flour from the manioc tuber [root]. This process involved grating the tuber and squeezing out the juice, which contains prussic acid, before roasting the flour over a griddle. Both men and women worked hard at this primitive agriculture; the Indian male was not merely a "hunter, fisherman, and warrior" disdainful of agriculture, as some writers on Brazil would have us believe.

Indian agriculture was hardly efficient. It is known that tropical soils are not particularly fertile, and the process of burning contributed to the destruction of the thin humus. After a year or so the gardens became so unproductive that they had to be abandoned, and a new site was cleared whenever possible from virgin forest. In time, an Indian village would be compelled to move in order to find suitable garden sites nearby, and thus Indian horticulture was quasi [semi] nomadic. This technique has persisted in large areas of rural Brazil, modified only by iron tools and a few crops imported from Europe.

From the Indian gardens, however, came many plants which have become important crops in Brazil and elsewhere in the tropical world. Aside from the staple manioc, the Indians planted yams, . . . cotton, . . . tobacco, maize [corn], pepper, beans (both lima and kidney), squash, pineapple, and sweet potatoes. Several native fruits, such as cashew and papaya, seem to have been semi-cultivated, or at least transplanted near the villages, while other fruits . . . were collected in the wild and are much appreciated by Brazilians today.

"Manioc" is a plant with a starchy edible root.

"Humus" is the part of the soil formed by decayed vegetable or animal matter.

The Portuguese learned much from the Indian in adapting to their new environment, but in other ways the European newcomers were hardly impressed by the Indian society they encountered. The material life of the coastal Tupí was rudimentary and crude. Both sexes went completely nude. They slept in cotton hammocks, and many Portuguese adopted the custom. Their houses were long thatched huts, sometimes two hundred and fifty to three hundred feet long and thirty to fifty feet wide, in which as many as thirty families, or more than a hundred people, lived together. The longhouse was not divided into rooms, but each family group had its own definite sector of the house in which the members cooked, kept their belongings, and swung their hammocks. Each house was inhabited by a group of kinsmen, usually related on the maternal side. Each longhouse had a headman, or household chieftain, who gathered about him the young men married to the daughters of the household. These household headmen made up the village council, and the strongest among them was the village chief. This loosely knit and segmented political organization was confusing to the Portuguese, who sought to establish treaties with entire tribes only to find that an agreement reached with one village was not honored by the other.

Tupí religion was loosely organized. . . . [The origins of all things in nature and of man's practical knowledge were explained by several imaginary cultural heroes.] One of them, Maira-monan, taught man the technique of agriculture; another, Monan, had created the sky, the earth, the birds, and the animals. Still another, Tupan, who was identified by the missionaries with the Christian God, seems to have been a secondary ancestral figure who controlled lightning and thunder. In addition to the ancestral heroes, there were numerous varieties of forest spirits and demons such as Yurupari, a forest goblin equated by the missionaries with the devil. The Tupí were afraid of the ghosts of the dead, who sometimes appeared, they believed, in animal form. Many of these religious concepts survive in the folklore of rural Brazilians, and some have been incorporated into literature by Brazilian writers.

The religious leaders of the Tupí were medicine men or shamans. . . . These shamans went into trances . . . while communicating with forest demons and ghosts. It was believed that while in trance they could cure the ill, divine the future, and even travel far to the land of the dead. Such shamans enjoyed tremendous prestige. They might wander from village to village, even into enemy camps, and be welcomed everywhere. In the sixteenth century, perhaps as a reaction to Portuguese domination, there were several revivalistic and messianic movements among Tupí groups,

"Revivalistic and messianic movements" refers to religious movements characterized by dramatic and emotional preaching and meetings, often led by someone claiming to be a messiah, or savior.

A "corollary" is an idea or situation which develops naturally as the result of a previous idea or situation.

led by shamans who preached a return to the land of the culture heroes and led their people on long treks across Brazil. . . .

The aspect of Indian culture that most horrified the Portuguese, however, was cannibalism. Warfare was a corollary of cannibalism; it was usually waged for revenge and to secure prisoners for a cannibalistic feast. The gory details and rites connected with the execution of the prisoner and the consumption of his body are well described by several eyewitnesses. A prisoner of war would be kept for several months. He was treated well and sometimes given a wife. But finally on an appointed day he would be clubbed to death. Then the feast began. Old women drank the warm blood, and mothers smeared blood over their bodies. The body was quartered and roasted to be eaten by the entire populace and their guests. Certain delicacies such as the fingers and the grease around the heart and liver were reserved for important guests. If the prisoner had been given a wife, she wept for him, but shortly she too joined in the feast. Only the executioner was forbidden to participate; he had to go into seclusion to protect himself and the village from the victim's ghost. . . .

3 THE ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to venture far into the unknown reaches of the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific oceans. Under the auspices of Prince Henry the Navigator, a Portuguese nobleman who founded a school for geographers and navigators (1394–1460), they explored the waters off the coast of West and South Africa; in 1497–1498 the Portuguese discovered a route to India around the Cape of Good Hope. By 1509 they had established contact with Sumatra; in 1512 they began trading with the spice-rich Molucca Islands. The next year the Portuguese landed in China, and by 1548 they had established a trading post in Japan.

Their commercial activities were not confined to the Orient. In 1500 a Portuguese captain named Cabral sailed farther west and south into the Atlantic than any European before him and took possession of Brazil in the name of Portugal. The Portuguese soon found themselves in competition with the Dutch, Spanish, French, and English to hold their claim to this and other colonial possessions in the New World. They successfully defended their Brazilian territory against attacks throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By 1700, they had established firm control of the largest single colony in the Western Hemisphere: Brazil.

Although other Europeans have since migrated to Brazil, the country is still known as Portuguese America. The official language is Portuguese, and the ruling elite continues to have a high percentage of Portuguese blood. The reading for today describes the arrival of the Portuguese in the New World. Think about the following questions as you read:

1. What were some of the most important characteristics of the Portuguese?
2. How would the characteristics of the Portuguese influence their relations with the Indians?
3. How would you compare the culture of the Portuguese with that of the native Indian? What implications does this comparison have for relations between the two groups in Brazil?
4. Which of the four social processes—amalgamation, assimilation, accommodation, or extermination—do you think would take place between the Portuguese and the Brazilian Indians? Why?

The First Portuguese in America

George Pendle first visited Latin America in 1930. Since then he has served as correspondent to the British Broadcasting Company for Brazil, represented the British government in Paraguay, and directed a British company's Latin American operations. He has also written extensively on Latin American history. In this reading he discusses the challenges encountered by the European-born Portuguese as they settled in Brazil.

Portuguese settlement for a long time was concentrated in the coastal area (indeed, more than three quarters of Brazil's population still live within a hundred miles of the Atlantic seaboard today). The majority of the colonists settled in the northeast, to plant sugar for exporting to Europe, where it was increasingly in demand. . . . The news of the growth in the colony's prosperity attracted wealthier people from Portugal, who had experience in managing large estates and could afford to build sugar refineries and acquire sufficient labor.

The characteristic pattern of colonial settlement was that of plantations grouped around sugar mills. Usually the mill . . . was situated near a river and operated by waterpower. The main labor force consisted of Negro slaves, imported by the thousand from Portugal's West African colony, Angola. It was essentially a rural civilization, the plantation owners living on their estates and only

George Pendle, **A History of Latin America** (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1963), pp. 70–75, **passim**. Slightly adapted.

visiting the towns to attend religious ceremonies or *festas*. During colonial times even the chief towns—Bahia, Olinda, and Rio de Janeiro—were very modest places by comparison with the great Spanish-American cities like Mexico City, Lima, Potosí. Brazil had no university and no printing press until the nineteenth century.

The landowners' country mansions were of simple architecture, in a style that owed something to the Franciscan monasteries. They had thick walls, and a wide veranda in front and at the sides, with sloping roofs of tiles or straw as protection against the tropical sun and rain. Adjoining the main house were a chapel (beneath whose floors the family buried their dead) and the slaves' quarters, made of mud and thatch. [In the early nineteenth century] Maria Graham [an English traveler] called at one such establishment, where 180 slaves were employed as laborers, besides those in the service of the family. She wrote with approval of the patriarchal atmosphere and the expansiveness of the people. All the food, except butter, was produced on the estate.

Everything was served up on English blue and white ware. The tablecloths were of cotton diaper, and there was a good deal of silver plate used. After the midday meal, some of the family retired to the siesta; others occupied themselves in embroidery, which is very beautiful, and the rest in the business of the house, and governing the female indoor slaves, who have been mostly born on the estate and brought up in their mistress' house. I saw children of all ages and colors running about, who seemed to be as tenderly treated as if they had been of the family.

As the colony passed out of the experimental stage, laws to regulate its affairs were received from Lisbon in increasing quantity. Generally these were similar to those which applied—or were supposed to apply—in the Spanish territories. But the methods of the Portuguese were never so thorough as those of the Spaniards. Perhaps the Portuguese character was gentler. Certainly Portugal had been weakened by her efforts to preserve her Asian empire. It was fortunate that the task which she undertook in the Americas—the occupation of an accessible and fertile coast—was much less difficult than that embarked on by Spain. . . .

The exploration of the vast interior of Brazil was begun in earnest by the Jesuits—who pressed forward, setting up mission outposts in the wilderness—and, more or less simultaneously, by colonists from São Vicente, who had emigrated from the poorer parts of Portugal and did not possess enough capital to enter Brazil's northern sugar region. When they climbed inland to the plateau, where the skyscraper city of São Paulo now stands, they had to content themselves with rearing cattle and cultivating crops of maize [corn],

"Jesuits" are members of a Catholic religious order called the Society of Jesus.

rice, and cotton on the fertile red soil, for their own use. They enslaved Indians, whom the Jesuits (as elsewhere in Latin America) did their utmost to protect from this fate; and with the Indian women they bred a race of hardy and ruthless half-breeds known as *mamelucos*. Indian labor in the vicinity became scarce; the purchasing of Negro slaves on the coast would have been too expensive; so the *mamelucos* ranged inland, hunting more remote Indian tribes.

Armed slave-raiders from São Paulo penetrated ever further into the interior of Brazil in organized bands, marching barefoot, in single file. Such a company might number several hundred men, including already-enslaved Indians, and each party would have its own flag (*bandeira*), from which they probably got the name of *bandeirantes* [adventurers]. Sometimes the *bandeirantes* would be away for months and even years at a time. Generally they lived off the land (game, fish from the rivers, wild honey), although sometimes, when threatened with a shortage of food, they would stop for long enough to plant and harvest a crop of *mandioca* or maize. They traveled enormous distances, arriving within sight of the Andes and reaching the banks of the Río Paraná and the Plata. From the second decade of the seventeenth century their favorite hunting ground was far away on the borders of Paraguay, where the Guaraní Indians . . . were a double attraction: as the Jesuits had given them some domestic education, the Guaraníes would be particularly valuable as slaves; and as they were concentrated in small areas, their capture was relatively easy. So the *bandeirantes* descended again and again on those unlucky people, who were seized and driven away to work on the farms of São Paulo or to be sold in the slave markets on the coast. Countless Jesuit neophytes [converts] died during the appalling trek eastwards. . . .

No one would deny that the *bandeirantes* were . . . cruel. But they are honored today as the courageous pioneers who . . . pushed the national frontier far to the west . . . completing the creation of Brazil as it now appears on the map. The inhabitants of modern São Paulo, of many mixed races, have a reputation for being the most energetic and enterprising section of the Brazilian community, and they take pride in asserting that they inherited these qualities from the *bandeirantes*.

At the end of the seventeenth century the *bandeirantes* discovered . . . gold in the uninhabited hills of Minas Gerais—thus initiating a new cycle in Brazil's economic history and the development of another region. Diamonds were found a few years later. . . .

The gold period lasted until the end of the eighteenth century, by which time the best deposits had been exhausted. Meanwhile

the wilderness of Minas Gerais had been populated and cultivated. Towns were built—such as the beautiful . . . town of Ouro Prêto, with its many churches—while Rio de Janeiro was developed as a port for the shipment of gold and diamonds. Large quantities of gold were sent to Portugal, to the great delight of the king.

During and after the era of gold, cotton was a major export commodity, and the European demand for cotton increased with the invention of new spinning and weaving machines. Moreover—at any rate to begin with, before buyers began to be insistent about length of staple and quality—cotton was an easy crop to grow; and the Brazilian planter liked an easy crop. Land in the northeast which for generations had produced nothing but sugar was turned over to cotton. Further to the south, a new form of speculative enterprise began: coffee was planted near Rio de Janeiro. In the nineteenth century, as the taste for coffee developed in Europe and North America, the plantations spread into the state of São Paulo, and people from the now decadent mining towns of Minas Gerais migrated to this new region of prosperity. Brazil's next economic cycle was dominated by coffee—with a rubber boom running concurrently, for a while.

4 THE PORTUGUESE AND THE INDIAN

Everywhere they went in North and South America, Europeans encountered Indian tribes. In some cases the Europeans exterminated the Indian; whole nations of Indians who once inhabited the eastern part of the United States have vanished from the face of the earth. Most of the time, the two groups worked out various forms of accommodation. In the United States the federal government set aside reservations in order to separate the remaining Indians from white men. On the reservation the Indian did not usually come into contact with white men, and conflict between the two groups was thereby diminished. In other instances the Indians and immigrant Europeans have become assimilated. In parts of Mexico, Spaniards intermarried with the Indians and an amalgamated culture developed.

A number of factors help to determine what will happen when people from two different societies are thrown together. If the two societies have much in common, the process of assimilation may take place with only minor disturbances. Two drastically different societies, however, may clash violently from the very beginning.

Hence, a student looking at an instance of culture contact ought to analyze the two cultures to determine how similar or different they were. Analytical questions drawn from sociology, anthropology, political science, economics, and geography are essential to such an analysis.

In Brazil the Portuguese came into contact with Indians who cultivated small pieces of land until the soil was exhausted and then moved on. The history of the relations between these two groups is explained in Reading 4. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. Did the Indians change their living patterns as a result of contact with the Portuguese? What different things happened to the Indians after they encountered the Europeans?
2. What factors shaped relations between the Portuguese and the Indians? What effect did slavery have? What effect did the government have? What effect did the church have?
3. How did contact between the Indians and the Portuguese compare with contact between white men and Indians in the United States?

The Portuguese Meet the Indians

William Lytle Schurz wrote extensively on the historical background of Brazil. In this reading he describes the confrontation between Europeans and Indians.

. . . The aborigines had no taste for the steady and exacting routine of the cane fields or, for that matter, for any kind of regular plantation agriculture. Though their women adapted themselves well enough to domestic labor in the plantation houses, the men proved to be physically and psychologically unsuited to field work. They preferred to migrate farther into the interior rather than to submit to the discipline of the plantation foreman. In order to avoid the breakup of local Indian society, the planters came to employ the Indian men in occupations that were more congenial [pleasant] to them, such as boatmen, hunters, and woodmen, or as a local force of police or militia. Meanwhile, Negro slaves were imported from Africa to fill the important gap in the sugar industry. . . .

By the end of the first [sixteenth] century the basic pattern of racial relationships was well fixed. The Indian's unsuitability as a field hand was generally accepted. With the introduction of Negro slavery, the question of his [the Indian's] economic position in colonial society was of little practical concern to his Portuguese

William Lytle Schurz, **Brazil: The Infinite Country** (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1961), pp. 81–85.

overlords, who were satisfied to leave him in the familiar roles that conformed with his independent nature and his past experience.

In the meantime, the Jesuits [the society of Jesus] had taken over the responsibility for his religious training and for [teaching] him the social ideas and habits that were peculiar to the mission system of the Society. . . . In the dual social order which became the rule in the colony—one largely dominated by idealistic considerations and the other by a profit motive—there was bound to be a conflict of ideas and interests between priests and planters. The stake in the controversy was the labor of the Indian. When in 1759 the Portuguese governments . . . expelled the Jesuits . . . their Indian wards were left to the tender mercies of the civil authorities. Efforts to integrate them into the life of the colony failed, and their natural tendency was to drift off into the forests where they could renew the broken pattern of tribal existence.

It was a long time before anybody championed the Indian in Brazil again. Over most of the country his existence was ignored. The colony became independent [in 1822]. . . . But the Indian was no longer a problem or even a subject for serious concern. He was not aware of the literary efforts of romantic writers to glorify his memory or of the scientist-explorers who wrote more realistically of his way of life. It was only when he got in the way of those who would open up the Amazon Valley and exploit its resources that he attracted the national attention to himself. His reaction was either to move farther back between the rivers or, if the odds were not too great, to stand his ground against the intruders and retaliate in his own way. A poisoned trap was set beneath the leaves in a forest path or there was suddenly a long arrow out of nowhere. The Indian wanted no part in the rubber boom, either as laborer or entrepreneur [businessman]. . . .

Though the Indian has been salvaged for the time being as a distinct ethnic entity [group], his ultimate fate in the future evolution of Brazil remains problematical. With the growth of the nation's population his relative importance as one of its component elements [parts] has declined proportionately. He is now a very small minority of the Brazilian people. The conditions that once forced his absorption by the familiar process of miscegenation have lost most of their force. His willingness to accept the responsibilities of fuller participation in the national life is yet to be demonstrated, though devoutly desired by some responsible leaders of the country.

A primitive Tupí or Tapuya tribesman, suddenly confronted with the necessity for spending the rest of his life in Rio or São Paulo, would be . . . hopelessly disoriented. . . . A judge in Manaus once

told me of his efforts to “civilize” a young orphaned [Indian] whom he had adopted. Brought up in his family and ultimately sent to Europe for a university education, on the young man’s return to Brazil he immediately disappeared among his people. . . .

The advance of economic development into the recesses of Brazil will eventually force the issue on the Indian. The alternative would be for him to remain indefinitely a “museum piece” for tourists or a subject for endless analysis by the anthropologists. His years may be numbered. If he should eventually disappear from the stage of history, he would leave behind him no epic memories, no tradition . . . for the greater glory of his race.

Yet, anonymously as he has lived, he has given much to Brazil by which to be remembered. He has left his place names strewn all over the land. A form of the Tupí tongue long survived as the . . . “general language” that was the common medium of communication in the *caboclo* world of the interior. . . . Then the Brazilian government, apprehensive [fearful] of the permanent corruption of the national speech and of the possible social and political consequences of a linguistic dichotomy [division] in the nation, deliberately discouraged its use to the advantage of Portuguese. However, many Indian words have remained embedded in the popular idiom [dialect] of Brazil, particularly in the nomenclature [scientific names] of natural features. . . .

The *caboclo* is the biological link between the two basic civilizations in Brazil, and much of his mentality and his habits reflect the Indian side of his ancestry. His nomadic instinct, even his urge to return from his wanderings to some familiar and favored locale, his taciturnity [tendency to be silent], so different from the wordiness of the coastal folk, his hardihood and frugality, his adaptability to the land about him, and his melancholy—all these are of the Indian. So are his food and the manner by which he obtains it, whether from the earth or the forest or the river. Brazilian folklore is deeply permeated [tinged] with the primitive mythology of the Indian, and the *caboclo*’s Christianity is a compromise with the animism of his Indian ancestors. Whether for good or bad, some of all this has entered into the soul of Brazil.

“Animism” is the belief that natural things such as the wind, plants, stars, and so forth are alive and have spirits and souls.

5 THE AFRICAN

When the Indians proved to be unreliable laborers, Portuguese slave traders began to bring Africans to Brazil. By the middle of the sixteenth century, slaves had appeared in several provinces of Brazil, and these came largely from the Congo-Angola

region of West-Central Africa. Once started, the slave traffic was heavy. As early as 1585 (twenty-two years before the Jamestown settlement in Virginia), more than three thousand Africans lived in Bahia province alone. All told, something like three million slaves were taken from the Congo and Angola, largely for the Brazilian market.

Africans made much better slaves than Indians. Given a small opportunity, Indians could escape from the plantation and rejoin their tribes. Africans could not. But even the Indians who did not escape were less able to work than the Africans. Part of the explanation for this phenomenon can be found in a comparison of the cultures of the Africans and the Indians.

The culture of the Africans who were enslaved was markedly different than was that of the Brazilian Indians. Far from being savages as nineteenth-century European merchants, missionaries, and adventurers have described them, Africans had developed sophisticated political, economic, and social institutions. Today's reading describes some of these institutions. As you read, keep the following questions in mind. They will help you to compare the societies of the Indians and Africans.

1. How would you describe the political, social, and economic systems of Angola? How do they compare with those of the Indians of Brazil?
2. Which culture, African or Indian, most resembled the culture of the Portuguese planters? What influence would cultural similarity or difference have on whether Africans or Indians would make better slaves?
3. What do you think would be the Portuguese attitude toward the people of Angola?
4. Which of the social processes—amalgamation, assimilation, accommodation, or extermination—would be most likely to take place between the Portuguese and the Africans?

The Culture of the Ovimbundu

During the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, the Portuguese purchased large numbers of slaves from the Ovimbundu, an active group of traders during this period (and now the largest tribal group in Angola). Although the Ovimbundu themselves were not enslaved until the nineteenth century, their social, political, and economic institutions were similar to other neighboring African groups who were sold into slavery. Today's reading, based upon an anthropological study of the Ovim-

bundu, describes their culture during the early years of the twentieth century. Because many of the institutions, values, and customs of the Ovimbundu changed but little between 1630 and 1930, the reading tells us something about the culture of the African slaves brought to Brazil long ago.

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

The village was the basic political unit of the Ovimbundu. Ranging in size from five to five hundred households, each village was ruled by an elder or headman. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries these headmen were responsible to sub-chiefs, who in turn were subject to the rule of their tribal king.

The village headman held the most important position in the village. Known to all the villagers as “father” or “elder,” he attended to every detail of village life. He acted as chief priest; his compound (a “compound” is an area which included the huts of one household) housed the village’s only spirit hut. This hut served as the real and symbolic headquarters of the village. Here the headman consulted with the ancestral spirits of the village in time of need. Here were kept the clothing and regalia used on ceremonial occasions. The hut also provided a resting place for . . . guests. . . .

The headman served as the village’s chief judge. Simple cases were tried in his private courtyard with perhaps only a few village elders present. To hear more complex cases, the entire village assembled on the village dancing ground.

Each headman earned a living independently of his responsibilities for ruling. Some raised crops such as tobacco, sweet potatoes, or pumpkins. Others were traders. Still others provided for their needs by hunting.

Each village belonged to a sub-tribe, which in turn owed allegiance to a larger tribal unit of the Ovimbundu people. Sub-chiefs led the sub-tribes; kings ruled the tribes. For example, the kingdom of Bailundu (one of the tribes of Ovimbundu) contained approximately two hundred sub-tribes, each of which included from three to three hundred villages. In 1799 an observer reported that the king of Bailundu dominated a total of 2,056 villages. Headmen and sub-chiefs not only carried out the instructions of the tribal king but collected taxes payable to the king as well.

Usually a man of royal birth, the king’s duties extended beyond the collection of taxes. Because his royal ancestors were the principal gods of his people, he performed the important religious rituals of the tribe. He presided at animal sacrifices to insure abundant rainfall; he and the royal queen sacrificed human beings

Gladwyn Murray Childs, **Umbundu Kinship and Character** (London: International African Institute and the Witwatersrand University Press by the Oxford University Press, 1949), pp. 25–28, 32–37. Adapted.

to guarantee plentiful crops; he led an annual hunting expedition to safeguard the fortunes of the hunters among his people. The king was supposed to possess unique powers of witchcraft and divination as well. He ordered ritual murders for such purposes as the protection of a new royal residence. Frequently he called in diviners and mystics to seek their advice on important matters.

The king also negotiated treaties with other kings for commerce or defense. Commercial agreements helped to promote trade between the many kingdoms of Ovimbundu. Military pacts helped to provide security for his villages. At the beginning of his reign, each king was expected to begin a war with one of the tribe's enemies to prove his valor as a leader.

In addition to these duties the king was the chief judge of his tribe. His personal court served as the supreme judicial court of the land; cases were decided either by ordeal (the drinking of a poisonous drink) or by the king's decision. Although his word was always final, he constantly relied on the traditions of his people and the advice of his elders to reach a decision. Thus social and legal precedents heavily influenced the authority of the king.

As the king grew old and feeble, an elaborate system of nomination and election began. Elders met to decide which male relative of the king was the best qualified to take his place. If not the king's eldest son, then a younger brother or even a son of a younger brother might be selected. If the new king proved unsatisfactory, the elders would remove him and elect another man. The king's power then, although extensive, was not absolute.

ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

The village was also the principal element in the tribe's economic life. Its physical appearance was haphazard. Although most huts were rectangular in shape, they were sometimes circular. Streets were not laid out on a rectangular pattern. Houses were scattered about, making the entire village look like a mass of confusion. A wooden palisade or fence usually surrounded the village as protection against raiding tribes and wild animals. The fence, however, was frequently in a poor state of repair.

Inside the large palisade, smaller fences divided one household from another, thus forming a series of small compounds. Narrow paths twisting between these fences led to a dancing ground and also to the exits of the village.

In addition to living quarters, each household had a small hut built on stilts which held the family's grain. Other structures included chicken coops, separate cooking huts, and pens for sheep

A "palisade" is a fence of pointed stakes.

and pigs. A common kraal (cattle pen) for all the cattle in the village was usually found near the headman's compound.

Within their compounds the villagers frequently planted small plots of tobacco, wheat, maize (corn), beans, and sweet potatoes. Water holes and pounding rocks (for grinding meal) were located between the compounds and were owned in common. Within a thirty- to sixty-minute walk outside the village, the villagers usually planted larger fields with staple crops, especially beans, maize, and wheat.

The Ovimbundu preserved their economic systems with a carefully planned system of education. Mothers cared for boys and girls until they reached approximately their eighth birthday. During these years the children acquired skills of personal health and hygiene. After the eighth year, education began in earnest. Boys and girls were separated, the girls staying with their mothers to learn about growing food, household tasks, and the preparation of food. If there were young infants in the family the girls would also learn to care for them. In the absence of infants sometimes the girls would "borrow" a baby from a neighbor or relative.

Life was different for the boys. Rather than remain secluded in their homes, boys set out to learn the trades of their fathers. Often an eight-year-old gained his first experience at adult life by taking an extended trip with a trading caravan from his village. He might also begin to accompany his father to work in the village's distant fields. But agricultural skills were not the final product of the educational system. Every boy was also expected to acquire skill in a "profession" as well.

The Ovimbundu were natural traders. Many of the younger boys were said to have taken up trading and bargaining as naturally as they had learned to breathe. A traveler in Angola in the early 1790's noted that the reputations of the Ovimbundu as wealthy and successful traders were already well established.

Boys learned other professions. Some practiced weaving mats, trays, and grain baskets from coarse grasses and reeds. Others learned woodworking skills which included making stools, drums, tools, and dugout canoes. Other boys learned how to thatch huts while still others practiced the tedious process of weaving fish nets and rope from grasses. While the stronger and larger boys learned to hunt and fish, a few chosen youths learned the secrets of the sacred profession of iron smelting and smithing. Carefully guarded, the art of smelting was passed on only to a select few who would in turn guard their newly learned skill with equal caution. Each profession made a significant contribution to the welfare of the entire village.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

The most significant social institutions in the village were the men's club and the dancing floor. Not a formal meeting, the men's club was merely the tradition of the adult males gathering together to talk. Europeans have been and continue to be amazed at the amount of conversation which takes place among Africans. For the Ovimbundu nothing created greater anxieties than to be denied opportunities to talk. Women did not share equally in these conversations, partly because their household tasks consumed a major portion of their time but also because the Ovimbundu segregated the sexes strictly and women were not expected to take part in male conversations.

Topics of conversation varied. Sometimes it was the harvest or the recent drought. Conversation also ranged to business transactions and to relations between neighboring tribes. Regardless of the topic, each male resident of the village felt free to express his opinion.

While conversations took place, the men smoked tobacco and drank beer. Pulling on their hand-carved pipes or quaffing gourdfuls of warm, freshly brewed beer, the men sat in the blazing sun for hours. Although these conversations had no official significance, they often provided the village elders with a clear impression of the thinking of the younger men.

Next to talking, the Ovimbundu loved their dancing best. They danced on the slightest provocation: to celebrate a harvest, to intercede on behalf of the spirit of a recently deceased relative, to bring rain, to thank a friend for a gift, to win the support of the spirits in a coming military engagement. On important occasions the dancing continued throughout the night and, for especially significant events, was sometimes resumed for three or four subsequent nights.

The household was the tribe's basic institution. In contrast to European usage the Ovimbundu used the term *household* to include domestic animals and possessions as well as all the members of the family group. Most families were large; a man might take several wives.

Each wife had her own hut as well as her own granary, chicken coop, and animal pens. Although some kings had as many as twelve wives, most men had no more than three or four, and many had only one.

Family relationships extended beyond the immediate household. The head of the household frequently had several brothers, uncles, and cousins living in the same village. In fact, in most villages of

moderate size (about twenty-five households) every adult male was probably related to every other adult male by a common ancestor probably no more than two or three generations removed. The large families produced complex lines of relationship between the several branches. However, the extended families assured every member that every other member would be concerned for his welfare. In the sometimes tenuous circumstances of life in the African bush, the security of the extended family was gratifying.

The Ovimbundu's family structure helped to preserve the economic and political systems already described. Each person knew what was expected of him; few dared to question the traditions their elders had passed on. Perhaps the best proof of the durability of the culture has been its survival, in the face of numerous challenges, for three hundred years or more.

6 MASTER AND SLAVE

Slavery existed many years before the birth of Christ. The Egyptian pharaohs enslaved thousands to work on the pyramids. Ancient Greeks and Romans made their captives labor on galleys, in the fields, and in mines. For centuries Arabs captured Christians and Christians captured Arabs, each forcing their victims into slavery. In Africa itself, powerful chiefs enslaved captives from rival tribes. Most European slavers, in fact, purchased African slaves from other Africans.

The market for slaves in Europe was never large. Small-scale agriculture and limited manufacturing in the late medieval period did not require large numbers of forced laborers. Thus the demand for African slaves before A.D. 1500 remained small. The discovery of America changed this situation. European settlers and landowners in the New World quickly learned that the soil would yield rich harvests of tobacco, sugar, and cotton if large gangs of laborers could be recruited. Slave traders saw exciting new opportunities.

Beginning in the sixteenth century, slaves by the thousands were shipped to the Caribbean islands and South America. A century later (1619) the first slaves arrived in what is now the United States. Slavery in the British colonies differed from slavery in the Spanish and Portuguese lands. In North America and the British West Indies, the slave was a chattel, a piece of property that could be bought or sold just like a table or a chair. No matter that the slave might have a wife or children, if his master believed he could make a profit by selling only the father and not the rest of the family, the family was split up.

Slavery in Latin America, although unquestionably cruel, was far less harsh than in the northern colonies. Today's reading describes Latin American slavery. Think about these questions as you read:

1. What was the role of the African slave in Brazil? Was his role similar to or different from what you pictured it might be?
2. What was the status of the African slave in Brazilian society? Could the slave change his status? If so, how?
3. Based on this reading, which of the social processes described on page 96 do you think would result from this form of slavery?
4. What type of sources did the author of the article use? How would his sources affect his presentation of slave life? What other types of material do you think he might have used? How would different material have influenced his account?

The Institution of Slavery

Dr. Donald Pierson is an American sociologist who has studied the history of the Negro in Brazil's Bahia province. The book from which these extracts were taken, although more than twenty-five years old, is still a standard work on racial contact in Brazil.

Donald Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil, A Study of Race Contact at Bahia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), pp. 78-91.

. . . In the home, on the plantation, along the roads of the rural areas, or in the streets of the cities, on the hunt, at parties, or at church, black and white were constantly to be seen in each other's company. And since human beings, wherever they come into close and uninterrupted contact upon an intimate personal basis, sooner or later tend to lay personal claims upon one another, it is not surprising to find that ties of enduring sentiment arose, which tended gradually to break down the formal barriers between the races and to modify the nature of slavery. . . .

It is, of course, probably true that the Mohammedan conception of the slave exercised considerable influence over the original form of African slavery in Portugal itself. The Arabian prophet, it is said, while unable to do away with an ancient institution, "did his utmost to soften the rigors of slavery." After conceding to his importuning [pleading] followers that "God hath ordained" the slave institution, Mohammed added: "Therefore, him whom God hath ordained to be the slave of his brother, his brother must give him of the food which he eateth himself, and of the clothes wherewith he clotheth himself, and not order him to do anything beyond his power. . . . A man who ill-treats his slave will not enter into Paradise." . . .

Obviously, there is inherent in slavery an economic consideration which has little regard for the interests of the slave himself. But wherever human beings live together in close proximity for any period of time there also tend to grow up *personal relations* which humanize whatever formal institutions have been set up. The opportunities in Brazil for these relations to develop, particularly in the case of domestic servants, were extensive. . . .

Symbolic of the intimate nature of these relations was the common form of etiquette which grew up and became customary between Brazilian master and slave. It is said to have been a practice observed in all well-regulated families that slaves, "of both sexes and of every age," requested each morning and evening a blessing from their master. According to Stewart, the words used in the middle of the nineteenth century were, "I beseech your blessing [or 'Grant me a blessing'], in the name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ!" To which the master replied, "Jesus Christ bless you forever!"¹ . . .

Relationships of this character were undoubtedly advantageous to the Negro, not only during his period of subjection as a slave but also after his enfranchisement. Koster says of Brazilian neighbors in Pernambuco who possessed a considerable number of slaves:

These excellent women and the good priest [intend] eventually to emancipate all of them; and that they may be prepared for the change, several of the men have been brought up as mechanics of different descriptions; and the women have been taught needlework, embroidery, and all branches of culinary knowledge.² . . .

Custom came gradually to grant the slave, as Burton has pointed out, many of the rights of a freeman:

He may educate himself, and he is urged to do so. He is regularly catechised, and in all large plantations there is a daily religious service. If assailed in life or limb he may defend himself against his master, or any white man, and an over-harsh proprietor or overseer always runs considerable risk of not dying in bed. He is legally married, and the chastity of his wife is defended against his owner. He has little fear of being separated from his family: the humane instincts and the religious tenets of the people are strongly opposed to this act of barbarity. He has every chance of becoming a free man: manumission is held to be a Catholic duty and priestly communities are ashamed of holding slaves. . . .³

The accounts that follow are from various businessmen from England and the United States who visited Brazil in the nineteenth century.

"Catechised" refers to systematic religious instruction through the use of questions and answers.

"Manumission" is the formal emancipation from slavery.

¹ C. S. Stewart, *Brazil and La Plata* (New York, 1856), p. 408.

² Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* (Philadelphia, 1817), I, p. 258.

³ Sir Richard Burton, *Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil* (London, 1869), I, pp. 271-72. Some cases undoubtedly occurred in which the master refused to manumit a slave upon his presenting the cost price, but these were probably rare.

It was customary each week to grant slaves, in addition to their regular food, an allowance of tobacco.⁴ On the large estates certain hospital facilities,⁵ and nurseries for Negro children were maintained.⁶ Accounts of white mistresses who themselves attended to the sick among their slaves are numerous.⁷ The *amas* (nurses) were often "emancipated as soon as their work was over, and nearly always continued to live in freedom under the same roof with their masters and to have various privileges."⁸ "The aged Negroes were only employed in light occupations; during the remainder of their time they chatted with the master's young children, telling them odd stories which were calculated to strike their imagination."⁹

Public opinion expected of masters the acceptance of an offer made to manumit an infant on the occasion of his baptism.¹⁰ It also became customary, when marriages were being solemnized in the master's family, to free one or two favorite slaves.¹¹ Masters frequently declined the money proffered by a Negro for his purchase and granted his freedom without payment.¹² Slaves of the

⁴ Prince Adalbert, *Travels of Prince Adalbert of Prussia*, trans. from *Aus meinem Tagebuche, 1842-1843* (Berlin, 1847), by Robert H. Schomburgk and John Edward Taylor (2 vols.; London, 1849), II, 37. Prince Adalbert noted on the coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo, that "every evening, when their work is done, the slaves light fires in the rooms set apart for them, around which they sit for hours, even after the severest day's work, all talking and smoking, women as well as men."

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 36. "In the hospital, the hall and rooms for the two sexes were separated. A Negro woman was lying on a mat. . . . She had given birth only the night before. 'In a few days she will be able to resume work,' said the doctor to Count Bismarck. In the men's room there were four or five patients, suffering from accidents of various kinds" (coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo).

⁶ C. G. Andrews, *Brazil, Its Condition and Prospects* (2d ed.; New York, 1889), p. 164.

⁷ George Gardner, *Travels in the Interior in Brazil, 1836-1841* (London, 1849), p. 14.

⁸ Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds, of Brazil," *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ "Another custom which was advantageous to the slave was that of *alforrias na pia*, which was accomplished with the insignificant amount of 5 to 50 milreis and never was refused; this custom became very common, especially when the child had a light skin" (João Ribeiro, *Historia do Brasil* [3d rev. ed.; Rio, 1909], p. 255). Koster gives the price in Pernambuco early in the nineteenth century as £5 [about \$24] and says that "in this manner, a considerable number of persons are set at liberty; for the smallness of the price enables many freemen . . . to manumit their offspring; and instances occur of the sponsors performing this . . . act. Not infrequently female slaves apply to persons of consideration to become sponsors to their children in the hope that the pride of these will be too great to allow of their godchildren remaining in slavery" (*op. cit.*, I, 195-96).

¹¹ Frank Bennett, *Forty Years in Brazil* (London, 1914), p. 111.

¹² Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

religious orders, it is said, considered themselves to belong to the saints themselves and were never sold.¹³ . . .

In the light of these customs which gradually grew up and ameliorated [improved] the lot of the bondsman, it is not surprising that neither Brazil nor the mother-country ever felt it necessary to adopt a "Black Code." The Englishman Dent says, "I had certainly the opportunity of seeing something of the treatment of slaves, being thirteen months in the country; but I never came across any other than considerate kindness from master to slave, sometimes even far greater benevolence and consideration than is exercised toward servants in our own country."¹⁴ Dent mentions an old Negro woman who "had received her liberty sometime ago, but seemed to be much attached to the family and never to have thought of leaving them."¹⁵ Numerous other visitors to Brazil remark that the slaves appeared to be treated with kindness, to be well cared for, and happy. . . .

Wells, journeying three thousand miles through the interior of Brazil a few years before abolition, thought that "many a poor laborer at home [in the United States] would enjoy their lot."¹⁶ Gardner, who during five years' residence "saw more than has fallen to the lot of most Europeans," said:

I have conversed with Negroes in all parts of the country, and have met with but very few who expressed any regret at having been taken from their own country, or a desire to return to it. On some of the large estates at which I have resided for short periods, the number of slaves often amounted to three or four hundred, and but for my previous knowledge of their being such, I could never have found out from my own observations that they were slaves. I saw . . . contented and well-conditioned laborers turning out from their little huts, often surrounded by a small garden, and proceeding to their respective daily occupations, from which they returned in the evening anything but broken and bent down with the severity of their tasks.¹⁷

Codman wrote:

It is the result of my observation, and I believe that of everyone who has investigated the subject, that the Brazilians are generally kind and

The "Black Codes" were a series of laws enacted by former slave states in the American South after the Civil War to assure continued white control of society. They forbade Negroes to work as craftsmen or to change jobs without permission and denied Negroes the rights to vote or to serve on juries.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Hastings Charles Dent, *A Year in Brazil* (London, 1886), p. 285. Compare the remarks of another English traveler (Frank Bennett, *Forty Years in Brazil* [London, 1914], p. 10): "I want to say that, although some slaves may have been (and undoubtedly were) badly treated, a great many of them were better off than some free-born people here in England in the present day."

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

¹⁶ James W. Wells, *Three Thousand Miles through Brazil* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1886), II, 187.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

indulgent masters, treating their slaves with much greater leniency than has been practiced by any other people among whom the "institution" has existed in modern times.¹⁸

The "wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil,"¹⁹ which impressed some commentators as contributing to the favored treatment of Brazilian slaves, was an integral part of a social order in which the large family was the principal unit. . . . Under such conditions the network of personal relations arising out of the intimate contact of master and slave not only tempered but, over a period of time, tended to destroy the formal barriers between them. "The Negro is everywhere among the Brazilians," wrote Codman, "and they understand him thoroughly."²⁰

It was usually among the newly arrived Africans, the field hands, or those blacks like the semi-independent *negros de ganho*, all of whom were not in intimate contact with the whites, that escapes and insurrections occurred. Some of these Negroes at times affected scorn and contempt of whites.²¹ But those who were in close contact with the Europeans over a period of time developed sentiments of "belonging together," of loyalty and affection. Under such circumstances they gradually lost their African customs and traditions and took over more and more European ideas and attitudes. . . .

"Negros de ganho" were semi-independent slaves living in the city apart from their masters. They could arrange their own employment but were usually required to pay a weekly sum to their owners.

¹⁸ John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), p. 201. Absentee ownership, however, occasionally resulted, as on the estate of Prince Dom Rodrigo visited by Mawe, in a "system of management . . . so bad that the slaves are half starved, almost destitute of clothing, and most miserably lodged" (John Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil* [Philadelphia, 1816], p. 115). Note also Mathison, *op. cit.*, p. 114. Nor is it to be supposed that the field hands always fared as well as the house servants. Compare the conclusion of Stewart (*op. cit.*, p. 296): "House servants in Rio [1852] are said to have easy times, and to do very much as they please; but to judge from the incidents I have seen of field laborers, I fear such have but a sad and wearisome life."

¹⁹ "One afternoon I sat in a street car of the Copacabana line running to and from the heart of Rio de Janeiro city. As we approached the Avenida and paused at a sharp turn at the regulator's signal, a small boy poorly clad in cotton clothes got onto the front platform with a dinner pail in his hand. He set it down, removed his cap, bent his knee as the motorman, with a swift smile at the child, extended his right hand. The boy respectfully kissed it, replaced his cap, and jumped down. The little incident was typical of the wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil; it is here usual enough to see elderly bankers kiss the hands of their parents, but courtesy is not confined to the upper classes. . . . Brazilian men meeting each other in the street a dozen times a day, lift their hats every time to each other" (L. E. Elliott, *Brazil, Today and Tomorrow* [New York, 1917], p. 76).

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

²¹ Bennett (*op. cit.*, p. 9) mentions the following incident from Pernambuco: "One evening when we were walking along the Rua Nova, a black woman who was passing us suddenly drew aside with a lofty air, exclaiming: 'O meu Deus, os brancos perto de mim!' (Oh, my God, whites near me!)"

7 CHURCH, STATE, AND SLAVERY

The institution of slavery endured longer in Brazil than in the United States. The first slaves were imported there well before the Virginia colonists accepted their first shipment in 1619. Slavery was abolished in Brazil in 1888, twenty-five years after Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

On the other hand, the Church and the state took far more interest in reducing the harshness of slavery in Brazil than they did in the United States. Slave law was left to the individual southern states before the Civil War. In every case the states defined a slave as a piece of property that could be bought or sold. Since the slave was a piece of property, he had no legal rights. He could not buy his freedom; he could not testify in court against his master; and he was not allowed to prevent his master from breaking up his family. Many states even passed laws making it a crime to teach Negroes to read and write. Although some states regulated the master's treatment of his slaves, slaves who violated the law were severely punished by whipping, branding, or death.

In Brazil the situation was different. The government and the Roman Catholic Church took steps to contain slavery within the limits of law, strictly enforced by central authority. As you read the selection for today which describes slavery in Brazil, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What is the author's hypothesis about the influence of the Church and the Brazilian government on the institution of slavery?
2. What laws did the Brazilian government pass to regulate slavery? What was the tradition upon which these laws were based? Did these laws give any advantages to the Brazilian slave?
3. What were the differences in the process of emancipation in the United States and Brazil?
4. Did the influence of Church and state bring about accommodation or assimilation of the races in Brazil?

Slavery in Brazil

Dr. Frank Tannenbaum was for many years professor of history at Columbia University. He is particularly well-known for his comparisons of slavery in Brazil and the United States.

. . . The slave [in Spain and Portugal] had a body of law, protective of him as a human being, which was already there when

Frank Tannenbaum,
*Slave and Citizen, The
Negro in the Americas*
(New York: Alfred A.
Knopf, Inc., 1946), pp. 48-
61, 90-93, 105-07.

"... the Spaniard may not have known him as a Negro ... " indicates that the position of the Spanish slave was determined by his lawfully regulated position rather than by his race or his color.

the Negro arrived and had been elaborated long before he came upon the scene. And when he did come, the Spaniard may not have known him as a Negro, but the Spanish law . . . knew him as a slave and made him the beneficiary of the ancient legal heritage. This law provided, among other matters, for the following [matters]:

The slave might marry a free person if the slave status was known to the other party. Slaves could marry against the will of their master if they continued serving him as before. Once married, they could not be sold apart, except under conditions permitting them to live as man and wife. . . . If married slaves owned by separate masters could not live together because of distance, the Church should persuade one or the other to sell his slave. If neither of the masters could be persuaded, the Church was to buy one of them so that the married slaves could live together. The children followed the status of their mother, and the child of a free mother remained free even if she later became a slave. In spite of his full powers over his slave, the master might neither kill nor injure him unless authorized by the judge, nor abuse him against reason or nature, nor starve him to death. But if the master did any of these things, the slave could complain to the judge, and if the complaint were verified, the judge must sell him, giving the price to the owner, and the slave might never be returned to the original master. . . .

A slave who became the heir of his master, in part or in totality, automatically became free. If a father appointed a slave as the guardian of his children, the slave by that fact became free; and if he was the slave of more than one person and became an heir of one of his masters, the other must accept a price in reason for that part of the slave which belonged to him. He who killed his slave intentionally must suffer the penalty for homicide, and if the slave died as a result of punishment without intention to kill, then the master must suffer five-years exile.

Spanish [and Portuguese] law, custom, and tradition were transferred to [South] America and came to govern the position of the Negro slave. This body of law, containing the legal tradition of the Spanish people and also influenced by the Catholic doctrine of the equality of all men in the sight of God, was biased in favor of freedom and opened the gates to manumission when slavery was transferred to the New World. . . . In effect, slavery under both law and custom had, for all practical purposes, become a contractual arrangement between the master and his bondsman. There may have been no written contract between the two parties, but the state behaved, in effect, as if such a contract did exist . . .

Slavery had thus from a very early date, at least insofar as the practice was concerned, moved from a "status" or "caste" . . . to become a mere matter of an available sum of money for redemption. Slavery had become a matter of financial competence on the part of the slave, and by that fact lost a great part of the degrading imputation that attached to slavery where it was looked upon as evidence of moral or biological inferiority. Slavery could be wiped out by a fixed purchase price, and therefore the taint of slavery proved neither very deep nor indelible [impossible to remove].

An "imputation" is the charge of a fault or crime to a person, by someone else.

In addition to making freedom something obtainable for money, which the slave had the right to acquire and possess, the state made manumission possible for a number of other reasons. . . . A slave's children born of a free mother were also free. Slaves in Brazil who joined the army to fight in the Paraguayan war were freed by decree on November 6, 1866, and some twenty thousand Negroes were thus liberated. . . . A cataloguing of the occasions for manumission in such a country as Brazil might almost lead to wonder at the persistence of slavery but . . . the importations of slaves were large and continuous.

Brazil defeated Paraguay in a war that lasted from 1865 to 1870.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the political and social environment in Latin America has proved different [than in North America]. Not only was the Negro encouraged to secure his freedom, but once he was free, no obstacles were placed to his incorporation into the community, insofar as his skills and abilities made that possible. In Brazil the Negroes had done all of the work during the colonial period. It was in their ranks that all of the skills, crafts, and arts were to be found, and it was from the ranks of the Negroes and mulattoes that some of the great artists, musicians, and sculptors were drawn. Rich planters in Brazil often educated their bright mulatto children and even sent them to Lisbon [Portugal] in pursuit of learning. Negro slaves were often specially educated in specific arts. . . . The ranks of the regular army were open to free Negroes and mulattoes, and special Negro regiments were common, sometimes with their own Negro officers. . . .

A peculiar feature of the slave system in Brazil and in other areas was the large plantations belonging to different religious orders, like those of the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the Society of Jesus. On these plantations the Negroes were especially well treated and protected, their moral and religious training was looked after, and they were almost never sold. In fact, the Negroes on these plantations considered themselves as belonging to the saint rather than to the friars who looked after them.

A "friar" is a member of a Catholic religious order such as the Franciscans or the Dominicans.

Upon gaining their freedom, the Negroes and their children

found openings in private and public employment and even in public office. And if the question of color was raised, it became evident that the office weighed more than the color, so that a mulatto captain was declared to be white. This happened even in cases of the nobility in Brazil. Where a Negro probably could not have found a place, a mulatto could; how could a member of the nobility be anything but white? Free Negroes had the same rights before the law and were allowed to hold property and, from the beginning, take part in public life. The Negro, in fact, had acquired a moral personality while slavery still flourished. For all of these rights were enjoyed by the Negro when slavery was still in effect, and when hundreds of thousands and in some instances millions of his fellow blacks [in Brazil as elsewhere] were still suffering the evils of slavery.

Nothing said above must induce the reader to believe that slavery was anything but cruel. It was often brutal. The difference between the systems lies in the fact that in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies the cruelties and brutalities were against the law, that they were punishable, and that they were perhaps not so frequent as in the British West Indies and the North American colonies. But these abuses had a remedy at law, and the Negro had a means of escape legally, by compulsory sale if the price were offered, and by many other means. More important was the fact that the road was open to freedom, and, once free, the Negro enjoyed, on the whole, a legal status equal to that of any other subject of the king or to that of any other citizen of the state. And if the question of color was an issue, he could purchase "whiteness" for a specific price. . . .

The different ways in which slavery was finally abolished in the two areas [Latin America and the United States] illumine the social process of which they were an integral part. In the Latin-American area slavery and freedom were, socially and morally speaking, very close to each other. The passage from slavery to freedom was always possible for the individual, and in practice frequent. There was nothing final or inescapable in the slave status. In fact, the contrary was the case. The social structure was malleable [flexible], the gap between slavery and freedom narrow and bridgeable, and almost any slave could hope that either he or his family would pass over from his side of the dividing line to the other. Easy manumission all through the period meant that there were always a large number of people in the community who had formerly been slaves and were now free. This is one of the two crucial differences between the character and the outcome of the slave institution in the Latin-American scene on the one hand and

in the United States on the other. The second basic difference was to be found in the position of the freedman after manumission. In fact, in Latin America there was for legal and practical purposes no separate class of freedmen. The freedman was a free man. In the Latin-American slave system the easy and continuous change of status implied a process of evolution and a capacity for absorption within the social structure that prevented the society from hardening and kept it from becoming divided. . . . There is, in fact, from this point of view, no slave system; there are only individual slaves. There is no slave by nature, no absolute identification of a given group of individuals as slaves, to whom and to whose children the hope of escape from the hardships they are suffering is forever denied.

If in Latin America the abolition of slavery was achieved . . . without violence, without bloodshed, and without civil war, it is due to the fact that there was no such fixed horizontal division, no such hardening of form that the pattern could no longer change by internal adaptations. In the Latin-American area the principle of growth and change had always been maintained. In the United States the very opposite had come to pass. For reasons of historical accident and conditioning, the Negro became identified with the slave, and the slave with the eternal pariah [outcast] for whom there could be no escape. The slave could not ordinarily become a free man, and if chance and good fortune conspired to endow him with freedom, he still remained a Negro, and as a Negro, according to the prevailing belief, he carried all of the imputation of the slave inside him. In fact, the Negro was considered a slave by nature, and he could not escape his natural shortcomings even if he managed to evade their legal consequences. Freedom was made difficult of achievement and considered undesirable both for the Negro and for the white man's community in which the Negro resided. The distinction had been drawn in absolute terms, not merely between the slave and the free man, but between the Negro and the white man. The contrast was between color—the Negro was the slave, and the white man was the free man. Attributes [characteristics] of a sharply different moral character were soon attached to these different elements in the population, and they became incompatible with each other. They might as well, so far as the theory was concerned, have been of a different species, for all of the things denied to the Negro as a slave were permitted to the white man—as a citizen. . . .

Race Relations in Modern Brazil

STATING THE ISSUE

The history of the Negro in Brazil resembles in many respects his history in the United States. He was imported from approximately the same areas in Africa that provided Negroes to work on Southern plantations. Throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and much of the nineteenth centuries, most Brazilian Negroes retained their status as the property of their owners, just as they did in the United States. In both societies formal emancipation did not come until the latter part of the nineteenth century. Once free, both groups found difficulties in adjusting to their new status.

But, as we have seen, Brazilian slavery differed from slavery in the United States. Church and state worked together to soften its harshness; masters could be punished for mistreating their slaves. Moreover, a Brazilian slave could obtain his freedom by working for it. In the United States freedom was granted the Negro only when his master wished to grant it. The North American slave could do little himself to end his miserable lot. In Brazil relations between master and slave were also somewhat more personal. Brazilian masters rarely failed to recognize that their bondsmen were human beings. In contrast the prevailing attitude among planters in the United States tended to be more harsh, although, of course, there were exceptions.

Just as Negroes in Brazil and the United States had different experiences in the past, modern race relations also differ in the two countries. Negroes and whites marry more frequently in Brazil than they do in the United States. In Brazil mixed-bloods are not automatically branded as Negroes as they are in this country. At the same time the Negro is not accepted as a full equal of whites in Brazilian society. In most cases the lower rungs of the social ladder are occupied by Negroes; very few can climb to the top.

What is the status of the *preto*, or black man, in Brazil today? What will his future be? The readings in this section concentrate

on these questions. They provide evidence to answer a variety of questions. Do the Brazilians consider the Negro to be biologically inferior, or do they believe that his status is due to the cultural handicaps of slavery? Is Brazilian society an amalgamation of the races? Have the races assimilated? Or have Brazilians merely worked out a pattern for accommodation? What does the future hold for race relations in Brazil?

8 THE MODERN SUGAR PLANTATION

The first Africans imported to Brazil worked as slaves on sugar plantations. The Brazilian climate and soil were good for growing sugar, and the plantations prospered. As early as the seventeenth century, however, Brazilian planters faced the problem of overproduction, primarily as a result of competition from plantations in the West Indies. The problem persisted during the next two centuries. Additional production in Louisiana in the nineteenth century and improved technological methods made Brazilian slaves increasingly less necessary. By the middle of the nineteenth century, many slaves were being set free to make their own way in the world.

In the twentieth century the master-slave relationship has ceased to exist. Even the master-worker relationship is becoming rare because large corporations have purchased the plantation lands and employ plantation managers. In most situations today workers never see the actual owners.

Yet a few practices of the past have persisted. Particularly in the state of Bahia, the old sugar capital of Brazil, some plantations are still operated as they were a century ago. Although freemen, not slaves, work in the fields and the mills, the organization of the plantations still resembles the pattern that existed before emancipation. These plantations are owned primarily by descendants of the first Portuguese owners. Generally the owners are pure-blood whites or *brancos*. The workers on the plantation are generally Negroes or mulattoes. The supervisors or overseers are generally mulattoes or whites. Today's reading describes one of these plantations. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. How has the life of the Negro changed on the plantation since emancipation? What are his relationships with the owner of the plantation? What are his relationships with the supervisors?

2. Is there any chance that a Negro living on a plantation can rise in the social structure? If so, how can he do it and how far can he rise?
3. What is the economic status of the workers on the plantation? Are they better off as workers than they were as slaves?
4. What are the chances for racial amalgamation on the plantation? What are the chances for assimilation?

A Plantation in Bahia Province

Dr. Harry William Hutchinson, an American anthropologist, lived in Bahia from July 1950 to June 1951. As a member of an anthropological field-work team, he spent most of his time talking with residents of Vila Recôncavo, a small village on the western shore of the Bay of All Saints, about twenty-five miles west of Salvador.

Harry William Hutchinson,
**Village and Plantation
Life in Northeastern
Brazil** (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1957), pp. 49-57 *passim*.

The owner's house with its park stands on a small hilltop and is visible from afar because of its imperial palms. Nearby, on another hilltop, is the settlement of workers, a long street with houses on either side, the barracks, a small store, and the ever-present *casa de farinha*, the house where manioc is always being ground, pressed, and roasted to make the farina which is the staple food of the area. Also on this street is the overseer's house, which stands out from the others because of its large size and its veranda [porch]. The houses of the workmen are small and built for the most part under one long, common roof. Each house is really an apartment consisting of a front living room and a long corridor going back to the kitchen, with one or two bedrooms leading off the corridor. Other houses, under separate roofs, have similar interior arrangements. The roofs are of red tiles, the rest of the house of clay mud (*taipa*) slapped on both sides of a bamboo framework. After the mud has dried, a coat of whitewash is applied. The houses are built and kept in repair by the plantation owner and do not belong to the workers. The floors are of beaten earth, difficult to keep clean. At night, when only a tiny oil lamp is burning, the houses look dark and gloomy.

After dark one has the impression of hearing much more than one can see. Kerosine is expensive to burn, no one reads, and most of life is geared to doing in the daytime those tasks which require light. At night the workmen and their families sit in the dark talking, or perhaps go to the *casa de farinha* where a fellow workman and his family may be grinding their manioc. This building is softly lighted with kerosine lamps and there is a cheerful glow from the

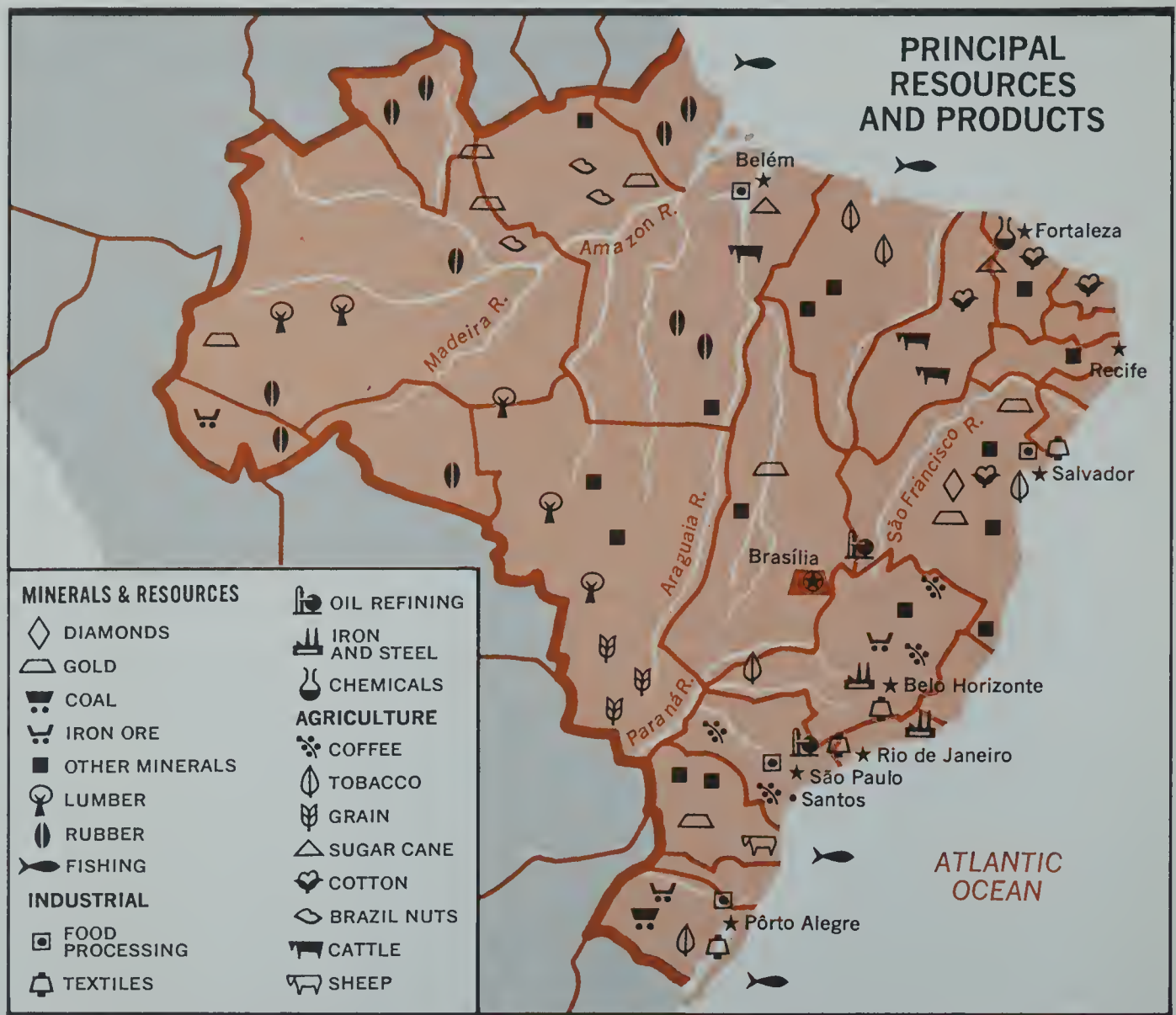
roasting fire. More recently the overseer's house has been equipped with electricity, and now it is always well lighted at night. His new radio has become a center of attraction and small groups form about his veranda, listening. At the other end of the street, during harvest time, there is always a bonfire in front of the barracks where the migrant workers are sheltered. On special occasions there may be a *samba* (dance), perhaps in the plantation owner's house. Then everyone dons his best and the women dance while the men play the drums, tambourines, and *cavaquinhos* (a ukelele-like instrument) or simply stand around watching, gossiping, and "passing the *branquinha*" (the local white rum).

There is a hierarchy of personnel on the plantation, which starts with the owner, Dona Sinhá, and her family. On other plantations the owner is sometimes also a lawyer, doctor, or engineer whose main interests, both economic and social, are in the city of Salvador. This is not always the case, however, for many owners are only rural proprietors, as is Dona Sinhá. But it is always considered a sacrifice to be obligated to spend the winter on one's plantation. It has been a traditional prerogative [right] of the plantation master to spend the winter in the city, and it is one of the traditions kept up today by the planters.

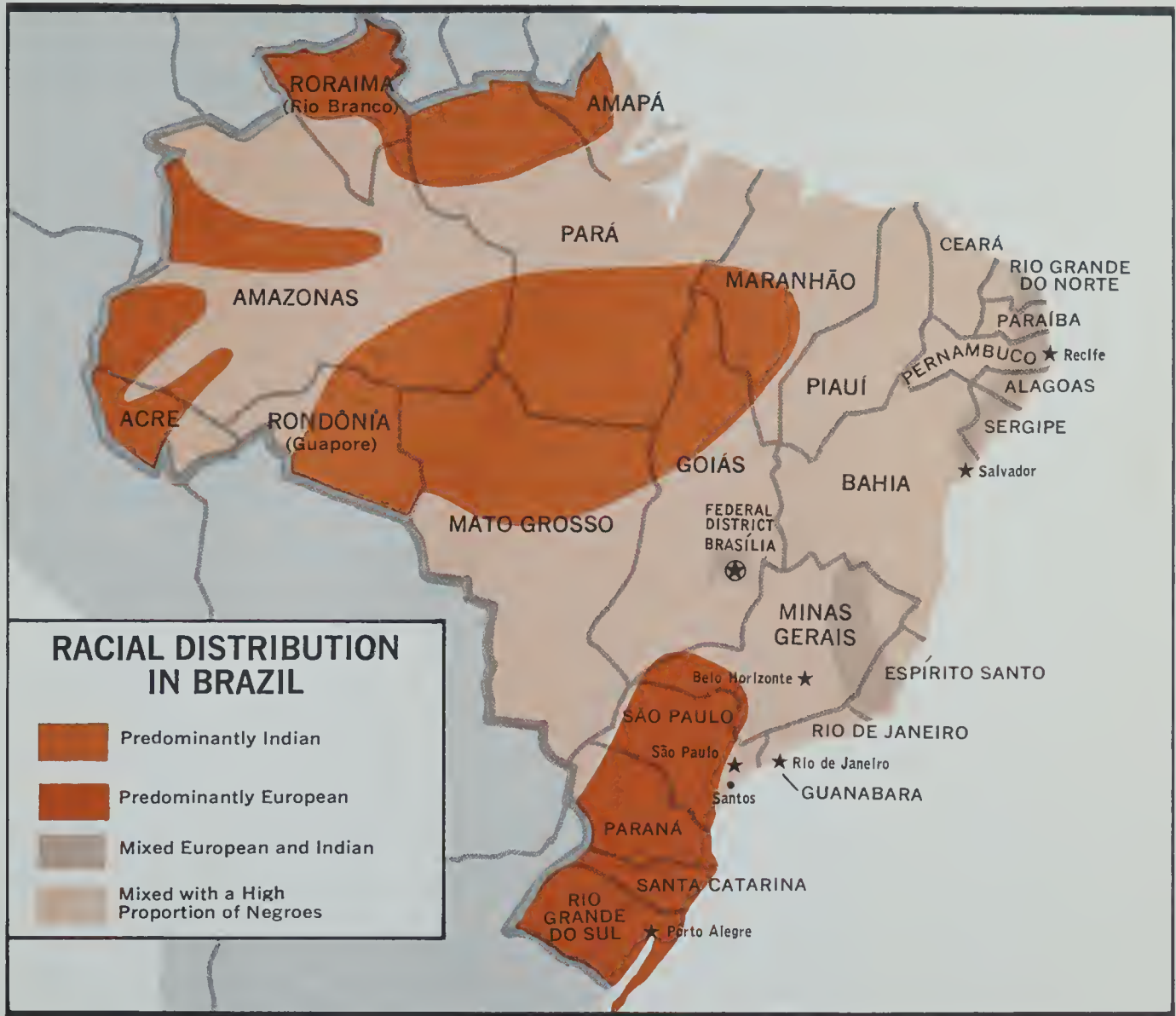
This aspect of partial absenteeism has given rise to the next rung in the hierarchical ladder: the overseer. It is he who puts into action Dona Sinhá's plans, for he has the greatest contact with the workers in the fields and at home, on the *arruado* (the street on which the houses are located). During the time Dona Sinhá is away he is ruler of the plantation.

Seu Paulo [the overseer] rose from the workers' ranks; he is familiar with all aspects of sugar-cane cultivation, and is able to handle men and to deal with the owner as well as with the workers. He is a dark mulatto, about forty-six years old, with a large family. He is sought after by the workers as godfather to their children. He rents a small piece of land on which he raises his own sugar cane. He has his own burros, oxen, and carts, which he rents to Dona Sinhá during the harvest season. Although unable to read or write, he can do figures in his head in an astounding fashion. He dresses well, in what is sometimes thought to be an attempt to imitate the plantation master of bygone days, while Dona Sinhá and her family have adopted a more comfortable garb for the country—"modo americano" ["American style"]. He spends most of his day in the saddle, riding from one point of operation to another; going to the sugar mill to straighten out this or that matter, such as the non-appearance of railroad cars at the plantation loading point; caring for the troubles of the workers; and looking to his own interests.

"Hierarchy" means a system (official or unofficial) of arranging persons into ranks from least to most important.



Below these two figures of authority is a salaried man who stands only slightly apart from the bulk of the workers, the foreman (*feitor*), Asclepiades. It is his duty to keep track of how much work is done each day and by whom. He walks about the plantation, from field to field, measuring with the six-foot stick he carries and marking down in his notebook the amount of work done by each man. The plantation laborers are paid according to how much each of them weeded or planted, or to how many tons of cane each cut or conducted to the factory. Asclepiades writes it down in his little black book, and it appears on the daily work sheet which in turn is transferred to the fortnightly payroll. . . . The foreman is



paid a monthly salary of one thousand cruzeiros, and although he does not occupy the position of prestige which the overseer has there is always the chance that he may become an overseer either on that plantation or on another.

There is one other salaried person on the plantation—the cowboy (*vaqueiro*) João who receives four hundred cruzeiros a month [about \$21.76], plus room and board. João takes care of the cattle, milk cows, and saddle horses. He must also inspect the fences constantly and report any breaks, and whenever possible retrieve animals which have broken out of the pasture and wandered into the cane fields, where they cause great damage. . . . João is also the

In 1950 one cruzeiro was equal to 5.44 cents. Therefore one thousand cruzeiros was worth \$54.40.

constant companion of the plantation owner when she is present, accompanying her or her children or guests on pleasure rides, meeting the train or boat with horses for guests or business acquaintances, and getting the mail from the post office in the town of Vila Recôncavo. João lives in the owner's house, enjoying her confidence to a greater degree than anyone else except perhaps the overseer. . . . When Dona Sinhá is present he receives orders directly from her, bypassing the overseer. João is in a position to check on much of the plantation activity, bringing to the owner's attention any necessary works forgotten by Seu Paulo.

Below the owner, overseer, foreman, and cowboy are the bulk of the resident workmen (*moradores*). On the Fazenda das Moças, there is a population of slightly over two hundred men, women, and children, providing a working force of between sixty and seventy men and boys, plus a few women who occasionally do light work in the fields. . . .

There are few rules restricting the workers. Their services must be at the disposal of Dona Sinhá whenever required. Other than that, if during a slack season a man finds an opportunity to work somewhere else, he is free to do so. If he has a burro, or oxen, he has the right to pasture them on the lands of the plantation, renting them to Dona Sinhá at harvest time for transport. Often a family has one or two pack horses or burros which can be used to transport cane or, at other times of the year, water or firewood. A worker also has the right to a plot to raise food crops. If the man in the household dies or deserts his family, the woman who is left can do one of several things: go to work in the fields herself, the least popular alternative; send her children out to work if they are old enough; find another husband, which is not too difficult, for there is a scarcity of women in this rural zone; or return to her father's house. . . .

One prominent aspect of the relationships between people in this hierarchy is the intimacy and familiarity which has for so long characterized the Recôncavo. While slavery was not a benign institution anywhere, there was a softness in the relations between the Brazilian and his slaves which seems to have been absent in other slave areas. This quality persists today on private plantations such as Fazenda das Moças between the owner and the workers. Dona Sinhá knows the residents by name or nickname, knows their background and present condition; the worker knows Dona Sinhá's family background, her children, and her extended family.

The former master is now the patron. It is she who arbitrates any differences between workers, or between a worker and Seu Paulo. It is her task to protect the worker against injustices, to

provide medical care, to aid at weddings and baptisms, in short to do all the things the worker is unable to do through ignorance, fear, or poverty. . . .

9 THE CITY SLUM

São Paulo is one of the largest and most progressive cities in the Western Hemisphere. It is the center of Brazilian industry. As industrialism caught hold, more and more Brazilians moved to the city to take part in the boom. But many come only to be disappointed. The majority of the people who migrate to the city are Negroes and mulattoes who come from rural areas of Brazil where they have not learned the skills necessary to work in modern factories. Moreover, these migrants have had little or no formal education and often cannot read. Almost every industry in São Paulo refuses to hire anyone who is illiterate. Out of work and having no money, these unfortunates go to live in favelas, or slums.

A favela is not like the slum of a North American city where people live in dilapidated tenement houses erected by landlords in the late nineteenth century, or in once-proud mansions now converted to tiny apartments. In the favela no such ready-made dwellings exist. The *favelados*, as the people are called, must collect or steal wood and build their own shacks. The favela, then, is a collection of crude huts housing relatively large families. As you read the description of life in the favela, think about these questions:

1. What groups of people live in the favela?
2. Do the Negroes who live in the favela seem to be there because of their race? Is some other reason the cause of their misery?
3. How could one escape the favela? What are the probabilities of escaping the favela? Why?
4. What implications does the favela have for race relations in Brazil? Does amalgamation or assimilation take place in the favela?

Life in the Favela

In recent years, the best-selling book in Brazil was the diary of a favelado, Carolina Maria de Jesus. A chance meeting with a newspaperman resulted in the publication of her diary in newspapers, magazines, and finally as a book. Reading 9 is composed of excerpts from the diary.

Condensed from the book
**Child of the Dark: The
Diary of Carolina**
Maria de Jesus, translated
from the Portuguese by
David St. Clair (New York:
E. P. Dutton and Company,
Inc., 1962), pp. 37–39,
47–50, 72–74. English
translation copyright ©
1962 by E. P. Dutton and Co.,
Inc., and Souvenir
Press, Ltd. Reprinted by
permission. Also published
as **Beyond All Pity**
by Souvenir Press, Ltd.

The author collected and
sold waste paper when
other work was unavail-
able.

Janio Quadros was gover-
nor of São Paulo from
1955 to 1958. He later
was president of Brazil
from January 31, 1961,
to August 25, 1961.
Juscelino Kubitschek
served as president of
Brazil from 1956 to 1961.

May 2, 1958 I'm not lazy. There are times when I try to keep up my diary. But then I think it's not worth it and figure I'm wasting my time.

I've made a promise to myself. I want to treat people that I know with more consideration. I want to have a pleasant smile for children and the employed.

I received a summons to appear at 8 P.M. at police station number 12. I spent the day looking for paper. At night my feet pained me so I couldn't walk. It started to rain. I went to the station and took José Carlos with me. The summons was for him. José Carlos is nine years old.

May 3 I went to the market at Carlos de Campos Street looking for any old thing. I got a lot of greens. But it didn't help much, for I've got no cooking fat. The children are upset because there's nothing to eat.

May 6 In the morning I went for water. I made João carry it. I was happy, then I received another summons. I was inspired yesterday and my verses were so pretty, I forgot to go to the station. It was 11:00 when I remembered the invitation from the illustrious lieutenant of the twelfth precinct.

My advice to would-be politicians is that people do not tolerate hunger. It's necessary to know hunger to know how to describe it.

They are putting up a circus here at Araguaia Street. The Nilo Circus Theater.

May 9 I looked for paper but I didn't like it. Then I thought: I'll pretend that I'm dreaming.

May 10 I went to the police station and talked to the lieutenant. What a pleasant man! If I had known he was going to be so pleasant, I'd have gone on the first summons. The lieutenant was interested in my boys' education. He said the favelas have an unhealthy atmosphere where the people have more chance to go wrong than to become useful to state and country. I thought: if he knows this why doesn't he make a report and send it to the politicians? To Janio Quadros and Kubitschek. . . . Now he tells me this, I a poor garbage collector. I can't even solve my own problems.

Brazil needs to be led by a person who has known hunger. Hunger is also a teacher. Who has gone hungry learns to think of the future and of the children.

May 11 Today is Mother's Day. The sky is blue and white. It seems that even nature wants to pay homage to the mothers who feel unhappy because they can't realize the desires of their children.

The sun keeps climbing. Today it's not going to rain. Today is our day.

Dona Teresinha came to visit me. She gave me fifteen cruzeiros and said it was for Vera to go to the circus. But I'm going to use the money to buy bread tomorrow because I only have four cruzeiros.

Yesterday I got half a pig's head at the slaughterhouse. We ate the meat and saved the bones. Today I put the bones on to boil and into the broth I put some potatoes. My children are always hungry. When they are starving they aren't so fussy about what they eat.

Night came. The stars are hidden. The shack is filled with mosquitoes. I lit a page from a newspaper and ran it over the walls. This is the way the favela dwellers kill mosquitoes.

May 13 At dawn it was raining. Today is a nice day for me, it's the anniversary of the Abolition. The day we celebrate the freeing of the slaves. In the jails the Negroes were the scapegoats. But now the whites are more educated and don't treat us any more with contempt. May God enlighten the whites so that the Negroes may have a happier life.

It continued to rain and I only have beans and salt. The rain is strong but even so I sent the boys to school. I'm writing until the rain goes away so I can go to Senhor Manuel and sell scrap. With that money I'm going to buy rice and sausage. The rain has stopped for a while. I'm going out.

I feel so sorry for my children. When they see the things to eat that I come home with they shout:

"Viva Mama!"

Their outbursts please me. But I've lost the habit of smiling. Ten minutes later they want more food. I sent João to ask Dona Ida for a little pork fat. She didn't have any. I sent her a note:

"Dona Ida, I beg you to help me get a little pork fat, so I can make soup for the children. Today it's raining and I can't go looking for paper. Thank you, Carolina."

It rained and got colder. Winter had arrived and in winter people eat more. Vera asked for food, and I didn't have any. It was the same old show. I had two cruzeiros and wanted to buy a little flour to make a *virado*. I went to ask Dona Alice for a little pork. She gave me pork and rice. It was nine at night when we ate.

And that is the way on May 13, 1958, I fought against the real slavery—hunger! . . .

May 19 Yesterday I ate that macaroni from the garbage with fear of death, because in 1953 I sold scrap over there in Zinho. There was a pretty little black boy. He also went to sell scrap in Zinho. He was young and said that those who should look for paper were the old. One day I was collecting scrap when I stopped at

"Virado" is a dish of black beans, manioc flour, pork, and eggs.

"Marginal people" are the poor, those who live on the fringes of society.

Bom Jardim Avenue. Someone had thrown meat into the garbage, and he was picking out the pieces. He told me:

"Take some, Carolina. It's still fit to eat."

He gave me some, and so as not to hurt his feelings, I accepted. I tried to convince him not to eat that meat, or the hard bread gnawed by the rats. He told me no, because it was two days since he had eaten. He made a fire and roasted the meat. His hunger was so great that he couldn't wait for the meat to cook. He heated it and ate. So as not to remember that scene, I left thinking: I'm going to pretend I wasn't there. This can't be real in a rich country like mine. I was disgusted with that Social Service that had been created to readjust the maladjusted, but took no notice of us marginal people. I sold the scrap at Zinho and returned to São Paulo's back yard, the favela.

The next day I found that little black boy dead. His toes were spread apart. The space must have been eight inches between them. He had blown up as if made out of rubber. His toes looked like a fan. He had no documents. He was buried like any other "Joe." Nobody tried to find out his name. The marginal people don't have names.

Once every four years the politicians change without solving the problem of hunger that has its headquarters in the favela and its branch offices in the workers' homes.

When I went to get water I saw a poor woman collapse near the pump because last night she slept without dinner. She was undernourished. The doctors that we have in politics know this. . . .

I found a sweet potato and a carrot in the garbage. When I got back to the favela my boys were gnawing on a piece of hard bread. I thought: for them to eat this bread, they need electric teeth.

I don't have any lard. I put meat on the fire with some tomatoes that I found at the Peixe canning factory. I put in the carrot and the sweet potato and water. As soon as it was boiling, I put in the macaroni that the boys found in the garbage. The *favelados* are the few who are convinced that in order to live, they must imitate the vultures. I don't see any help from the Social Service regarding the *favelados*. Tomorrow I'm not going to have bread. I'm going to cook a sweet potato.

May 22 Today I'm sad. I'm nervous. I don't know if I should start crying or start running until I fall unconscious. At dawn it was raining. I couldn't go out to get any money. I spent the day writing. I cooked the macaroni and I'll warm it up again for the children. I cooked the potatoes and they ate them. I have a few tin cans and a little scrap that I'm going to sell to Senhor Manuel. When João came home from school I sent him to sell the scrap.

He got thirteen cruzeiros [71 cents]. He bought a glass of mineral water: two cruzeiros. I was furious with him. Where had he seen a *favelado* with such highborn tastes?

The children eat a lot of bread. They like soft bread but when they don't have it, they eat hard bread.

Hard is the bread that we eat. Hard is the bed on which we sleep. Hard is the life of the *favelado*.

Oh, São Paulo! A queen that vainly shows her skyscrapers that are her crown of gold. All dressed up in velvet and silk but with cheap stockings underneath—the favela.

The money didn't stretch far enough to buy meat, so I cooked macaroni with a carrot. I didn't have any grease, it was horrible. Vera was the only one who complained yet asked for more.

"Mama, sell me to Dona Julita, because she has delicious food."

I know that there exist Brazilians here inside São Paulo who suffer more than I do. In June of '57 I felt rich and passed through the offices of the Social Service. I had earned a lot of scrap iron and got pains in my kidneys. So as not to see my children hungry I asked for help from the famous Social Service. It was there that I saw the tears slipping from the eyes of the poor. How painful it is to see the dramas that are played out there. The coldness in which they treat the poor. The only things they want to know about them is their name and address.

I went to the Governor's Palace. The Palace sent me to an office at Brigadeiro Luis Antonio Avenue. They in turn sent me to the Social Service at the Santa Casa charity hospital. There I talked with Dona Maria Aparecida, who listened to me, said many things yet said nothing. I decided to go back to the Palace. I talked with Senhor Aleides. I said to Senhor Aleides:

"I came here to ask for help because I'm ill. You sent me to Brigadeiro Luis Antonio Avenue, and I went. There they sent me to the Santa Casa. And I spent all the money I have on transportation."

"Take her!"

They wouldn't let me leave. A soldier put his bayonet at my chest. I looked the soldier in the eyes and saw that he had pity on me. I told him:

"I am poor. That's why I came here."

Dr. Osvaldo de Barros entered, a false philanthropist in São Paulo who is masquerading as St. Vincent de Paul. He said:

"Call a squad car!"

The policeman took me back to the favela and warned me that the next time I made a scene at the welfare agency I would be locked up.

"St. Vincent de Paul"
(c. 1581–1660) was a French
Roman Catholic priest known
for his benevolence.

Welfare agency! Welfare for whom? . . .

May 23 I got up feeling sad this morning because it was raining. The shack is in terrible disorder. And I don't have soap to wash the dishes. I say "dishes" from force of habit. But they are really tin cans. If I had soap I would wash the clothes. I'm really not negligent. If I walk around dirty it's because I'm trapped in the life of a *favelado*. I've come to the conclusion that for those who aren't going to Heaven, it doesn't help to look up. It's the same with us who don't like the favela, but are obliged to live in one. . . . It doesn't help to look up. . . .

June 16 José Carlos is feeling better. I gave him a garlic enema and some hortelã tea. I scoff at women's medicine but I had to give it to him because actually you've got to arrange things the best you can. Due to the cost of living we have to return to the primitive, wash in tubs, cook with wood.

I wrote plays and showed them to directors of circuses. They told me:

"It's a shame you're black."

They were forgetting that I adore my black skin and my kinky hair. The Negro hair is more educated than the white man's hair. Because with Negro hair, where you put it, it stays. It's obedient. The hair of the white, just give one quick movement, and it's out of place. It won't obey. If reincarnation exists I want to come back black.

One day a white told me: "If the blacks had arrived on earth after the whites, then the whites would have complained and rightly so. But neither the white nor the black knows its origin." . . .

June¹⁷ I spent the night like this: I woke up and wrote. Afterward I went back to sleep. At 5 A.M. Vera started to vomit. I gave her some medicine; she slept. When the rain stopped I took advantage of it and went out. I filled one sack with paper. I only received twelve cruzeiros. I found some tomatoes and a little garlic and ran home because Vera is sick. When I arrived she was sleeping. But with the noise I made she woke up. She said she was hungry. I bought some milk and made oatmeal for her. She ate, then vomited up a worm. Afterward she got up, walked a bit, then lay down again.

I went to Senhor Manuel to sell some iron and get money. I am nervous with fear Vera will get worse, because the money I have will not be enough to pay a doctor. Today I am praying and begging God that Vera gets better.

June 18 Today it dawned raining. Yesterday Vera spit two worms out of her mouth. She has a fever. There is no school today in honor of the Prince of Japan.

June 19 Vera is still sick. She told me it was the garlic enema I gave her that made her ill. But here in the favela various children are attacked by worms.

José Carlos doesn't want to go to school because it is getting cold and he doesn't have shoes. But today is exam day and he went. I am worried because the cold is freezing. But what can I do?

I left and went to hunt paper. I passed by Dona Julita's but she was at the market. I went by the shoe store to collect their paper. The sack was heavy. I should have carried the paper in two trips. But I carried it in one because I wanted to get home sooner because Vera was sick and alone.

June 20 I gave Vera some milk. All I know is that milk is an extra expense and is ruining my unhappy pocketbook. I put Vera to bed and went out. I was so nervous! I felt I was as a battlefield where no one was going to get out alive. I thought of the clothes I had to wash and of Vera. If she gets worse? I can't possibly count on her father. He doesn't know Vera, nor has Vera ever seen him.

Everything in my life is fantastic. Father doesn't know his child, the child doesn't know his father.

There was no paper in the streets. And I wanted to buy a pair of shoes for Vera. I went on looking for paper. I earned forty-one cruzeiros. I kept thinking of Vera, who would complain and cry because when she doesn't have anything to wear, she sobs that she doesn't like to be poor. I thought: if misery even revolts children. . . .

10 THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF BRAZIL

In all societies men are divided into a number of classes. A class is a broad group of men who share many things in common, such as their role in the economy, their values, the prestige given them by others, and the amount of education they have attained. Each class has a relative ranking on a social scale, as the terms "upper class," "middle class," and "lower class" imply. Individuals are often referred to as members of the "upper class," "the working class," or the "lower class." In some societies movement from a lower class to a higher class is relatively easy. In others it is very difficult.

In Brazil, as in other countries, the nature and composition of the classes has undergone change in the twentieth century. The coming of industrialization has changed the old class structure as

new occupations have been created. The reshaping of this old class structure carries many implications for the *pretos* (blacks) and *pardos* (mulattoes) of Brazil. As new criteria were established for membership in social classes and as new values replaced the values of the old social structure, the position of the dark-skinned peoples of Brazil changed. In the nineteenth century a Negro slave who earned his emancipation took his place in the working class. The upper classes were not open to him.

Today's reading analyzes social change in modern Brazil. As you read, think about these questions:

1. How has the social structure of Brazil changed in the twentieth century? What has brought about this change? What new classes have been added? Which of the old classes have diminished in importance?
2. What marks each class off from the others? How do the values of the various classes differ? What degrees of prestige are given to each class? What occupations fall in each class?
3. What characterizes the relationships between the various classes in Brazil? How do members of the upper class treat members of the lower classes? How do they treat members of the middle class?

Brazilian Social Classes

Charles Wagley, whose description of aborigines you have already read (Reading 2), has spent many years in Brazil. His writing is based on first-hand experience.

THE TRADITIONAL UPPER CLASS

At the end of the nineteenth century, Brazil was a stable society. Slavery had just been abolished and the monarchy had been replaced by the republic. Throughout Brazil a group of wealthy families had come to dominate the country's economic, political, and social life. Like the former aristocratic land-owning families, they carried on the old traditions and maintained paternalistic attitudes toward the lower classes. Some of these dominant families were descendants of the former nobility; others had become important after obtaining wealth or political position. By the end of the century, both groups had combined through intermarriage into one upper class. Although it was not impossible to gain admission to this class, it was very difficult. Membership in one of these families was often indispensable to economic, professional, political, or social success. Such families are still important in Brazil.

Charles Wagley, *An Introduction to Brazil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 102-03, 111-15, 122-23, 126-30. Slightly adapted.

"Paternalistic attitudes" means that they looked on the lower classes as a father looks on a son.

Their names continue to appear in important business circles, in government, and in the intellectual life of the country. Position in society is today still tremendously important to the members of the traditional upper class.

THE NEW UPPER CLASS

Although the traditional families of Brazil established at the end of the nineteenth century continue to be important in Brazilian life, a new upper class has been forming since World War II. During this period more and more people from the middle class have moved into the upper class through acquired wealth, political influence, education, or professional training. During the last twenty years, the Brazilian economy has expanded, and with it many have grown wealthy. "Rags to riches" stories are often heard in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Many of the non-Portuguese European immigrants who arrived in Brazil during the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries have prospered in industry, business, and farming. Many second-generation immigrants have entered the scientific, artistic, and even political life of Brazil.

Some behave as *arrivistas*, dressing and living ostentatiously. Others, however, are as pliable socially as they have been economically. Announcements in the newspapers of marriages between traditional upper-class families and the new upper class are frequent. The new upper class is, in fact, fusing with the old traditional upper class to form a new and very important part of Brazilian society.

"Arrivistas" in Brazil means the same thing as our term "nouveau riche."

THE NEW MIDDLE CLASS

The Brazilian middle class has increased many times over since World War II and is still rapidly expanding. This is reflected in a huge increase in demand for consumer goods and middle-income housing. There has been a tremendous expansion in white-collar government jobs at all levels; this expansion may have been the single most important road to membership in the middle class, since the middle classes in Brazil consider manual labor as a lower-class occupation. With the growth of industry and commerce, many new jobs have become available in offices and stores. Furthermore opportunities in the professions have increased with Brazil's population explosion and with the increased buying power of its people. There is an urgent need for chemists, nurses, engineers, and the like.

This growing new class finds itself in a difficult position. Many members of the middle class have learned to expect a higher

standard of living than they can actually afford. They live in a world of radio, television, movies, and the theater. They want telephones, refrigerators, washing machines, typewriters, automobiles, and other consumer products. They want better and more modern houses, and they are extremely conscious of and eager for good clothes. They are also conscious of modern advertising and fads, and they read the Brazilian counterparts of *Life* and the *Saturday Evening Post*.

The social values of the Brazilian middle class are those of the traditional upper class. More than 60 percent of a group of students interviewed wanted to become engineers, physicians, lawyers, or plantation owners—the four prestige occupations of traditional upper-class Brazil.

It is customary for middle-class families, even though they may have a hard time making ends meet, to have at least one domestic servant. Often they attempt to offer hospitality far beyond their means, another sign of the traditional upper-class family social values. In short, the middle class in Brazil tends to aspire to the aristocratic values of last century's landed gentry which are out of keeping with the economic demands of modern Brazil.

THE TRADITIONAL LOWER CLASS

Most Brazilians have always belonged to the lower-class rural groups. In general these people are illiterate and are often dependent upon the upper class. They earn their living as workers on cane fields and coffee plantations, as cowboys on cattle ranches, or as rubber collectors in the Amazon Valley. They also work as sharecroppers on large estates, as small tenant farmers, or as squatters eking out an existence on other people's land. Except for a few small landowners, the standard of living of the lower class is miserably low. Manioc flour, sometimes flavored with a few beans, dried beef, or salted fish, is the staple food. Fresh meat and bread are luxuries to most, and many people live in a state of semistarvation.

In the last twenty years a new type of lower class has developed in the countryside. These may be called the "rural proletariat," for they are wage earners in a modern sense. They are employees of impersonal corporations and their immediate supervisors are also impersonal employees, rather than patrons who provided them with work and food, clothing, and shelter. Today sugar plantations are staffed by professional administrators, mechanics, and bookkeepers. Time clocks have been installed, and new national laws have been passed to control working conditions.

In this case "proletariat" means an industrialized working class.

THE URBAN LOWER CLASS

During the last two decades, people of all classes, especially the lower classes, have migrated from the countryside to the cities. The great ambition of masses of young people from small towns has been to move to the metropolis, where, they believe, life is more stimulating and there is more economic opportunity. Many travel great distances, coming from the arid Northeast to the large cities of Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo.

Most of these migrants are unskilled, and in the cities they continue to do manual labor. Single males may go straight into construction, working and living in the skeletons of the structures they are helping to build. At night they sleep in hammocks as they did at home, and often they cook their meals over open fires.

Since most of these migrants were not born and raised in cities, most are like peasants living in an urban center. Many live with a dream of someday returning to their small town or farm after they have saved enough money. Many do return, but few with what they had expected. Others acquire a taste for city things and remain. Although most city laborers are poorly paid by American standards, they often earn three or four times as much as they did at home. Furthermore in the city the work is steady, and it is easier for women to find work there.

With their increased earnings the migrants can buy radios, alarm clocks, phonographs, wrist watches, nylon stockings, and other symbols of the good life. In the city there are movies, parades, soccer games, and carnivals, although most workers do not have enough money to attend these events regularly. Above all the city has *movimento*, motion or activity, something all rural Brazilians yearn for. More and more of them are sure to respond to the pull of the city.

11 BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES

Beliefs about race vary from country to country. In the United States, for instance, most whites and Negroes consider a person with one Negro parent to be a member of the Negro race. In Brazil, on the other hand, one white parent changes a *preto* (or black) to a *pardo* (or mulatto).

Beliefs such as these carry important implications for the social processes that reduce conflict between races. If white people consider Negroes inferior, there is little chance that assimilation or amalgamation can take place. If Negroes are believed to be equal,

however, the chances are better that the two races will mix more readily.

Reading 11 contains a sample of beliefs and attitudes about race among Brazilians living in the state of Bahia. As you read these statements, do two things: think about the following questions, and think about which statements might be linked together as representative of similar points of view.

1. How could you classify these statements about race? How could you organize your categories in order to develop an hypothesis about racial beliefs in Bahia?
2. What general hypothesis can you make about racial beliefs in Bahia province? What beliefs do most of the statements seem to have in common?
3. What implications do these beliefs about race carry for the social processes that will go on in Brazil? Do these beliefs tend to promote accommodation, assimilation, or amalgamation? Why?
4. What sort of evidence would you need to validate hypotheses developed from this sample of statements? How might the author's frame of reference influence his selection of statements?

Racial Beliefs in Bahia

Dr. Pierson, whose excerpt on Brazilian slavery (Reading 6) you have already read, collected data about racial attitudes in the Brazilian state of Bahia while teaching in São Paulo in the 1930's and 1940's. Bahia contains more pretos than any other Brazilian state. Pierson obviously could not interview everyone in Bahia. Instead he chose to include statements from people whom he considered most representative of the range of attitudes. Some of the quotations he collected are reproduced below.

Donald Pierson, **Negroes in Brazil: A Study of Race Contact at Bahia** (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942), pp. 214–33.

A Brazilian sociologist, A. Austregesilo:

“I am certain that in Brazil miscegenation has brought and will continue to bring more benefits than evils. The greater portion of our people, as well as of our talented individuals, in politics, in the sciences, and in the arts, were, or are, mixed-bloods. For instance, I can at once cite such men as Gonçalves Dias, Tobias Barreto, Barão de Cotegipe, Floriano Peixoto, Rebouças, José do Patrocinio, Nilo Peanha, Machado de Assis, Julianio Moreira, Olavo Bilac, Lima Barreto, and many others: scientists, painters, sculptors, musicians, poets, military men; in all of whom the blood of Africa is represented to a considerable degree. . . .”

A Brazilian psychiatrist, Julianio Moreira:

"It is much easier to analyze the psychology of a nation than the psychology of a race. The results of psychological tests indicate that there do not exist in Brazil profound differences between individuals of diverse ethnic origin. What variations I have encountered were due more to the degree of instruction of each individual examined than to the ethnic group from which he came. This explains the fact that individuals from supposedly inferior ethnic groups, when born and reared in large cities, present a better psychological profile than those even of Nordic descent who have been reared in the backward environment of the interior. . . ."

A young Brazilian woman:

"Their former position as slaves gave to the Negroes a certain degree of inferiority which to some extent has continued down to the present time. However, this inequality is, day by day, disappearing. I believe that very early in the future the *pretos* in Bahia will have ability equal to anything in the white race. . . ."

A *preto*:

"Here in Bahia whites and blacks are never at one another's throats as they are in the United States. A Negro is treated here as if he were no different from other men. So, while North Americans suffer more and more from internal strife, Brazil will every year become more and more one people, united in blood and sentiment."

A *preto* physician:

"We have not such a thing here in Bahia as race segregation, as among our illustrious North American friends. . . ."

"There is not here either white or black; there are only Brazilian citizens and foreigners."

"The Brazilian Negroes were born just like the whites and die the same way. The blacks are brothers of the whites and they love each other in our country. . . ."

"I think it would be well for North Americans to get acquainted with the great love which unites the whites and the blacks for the grandeur of our country and take with them the example to their country, which . . . still lynches its Negro citizens as if all men were not equal in the eyes of God and the law. . . ."

A *preto* stevedore [longshoreman]:

"In the past the black man was the laborer, the slave, vilely treated by the owners of great wealth whose descendants today often fail to recognize in him the principal factor in the building of Brazil and continue to deny him what he rightly deserves as a reward and a recompense [repayment] for his untiring services (and even sacrifices), and for his humility in making himself always acceptable to his masters."

"Today the descendants of these slaveowners are the great industrialists and capitalists. Although they are unable to do as their predecessors did, nevertheless they make use, in a disguised manner, of that same abuse of power. . . .

"Today, the blacks are employed only as simple laborers, such as masons, carpenters, tailors, mechanics, shoemakers, ironworkers, and stevedores. . . . The reason the blacks do not use their abilities as business agents, bookkeepers, custom-house clerks, exporters, importers . . . is that they do not possess the requisite skill and training, a deficiency which is principally due to the whites themselves, who always hinder the entering of this element of the population into the above-indicated classes where they might exercise authority over the other element and then they call them 'inferior,' 'the poor,' 'low class.'" . . .

A Brazilian white:

At the present time the *pretos* are very backward in comparison with the whites. But I think that with social evolution they are becoming more and more intelligent and that eventually they will contribute equally with the whites to the forward march of Brazil."

A *preto* cook:

"Listen, wise one, you're just a dirty mulatto! You don't even belong to a pure race! I'd rather be black than yellow any day!"

A *preto*, speaking to a mulatto:

"All right! That's what you get from a mulatto. Mixing up the races always brings something like this."

A *preto*, referring to one of his mulatto relatives:

"These mulattoes! . . . Dirty seum! Deny their grandparents, their uncles, and their aunts, even their own parents! They don't want to be blacks; they want to be whites! . . ."

A white man:

"We like the blacks here," said a white Bahian. "And why not? Didn't they help build Brazil and aren't they still helping to create our country? We are not like the English and the North Americans. They are enemies of the Negro, but we are his brothers. We should all be kind to them, for it is not their fault that they are black."

Another white Brazilian:

"I like the blacks better than I do the mulattoes; in fact, much better! Do you know why? They're more honest, for one thing. They're more dependable. Why, I wouldn't hesitate to trust a fortune in the keeping of Francisco [his black servant]. They're more friendly, more considerate, more grateful. This is true not only of those who work for me [this man employs regularly sixteen laborers, has eighty-four Negro and dark mulatto hucksters (peddlers) whom he supplies with oranges from his *roca* for peddling

in the streets], but it goes for black professional men as well. I know a black lawyer, for instance, a very fine man. I'd trust my legal affairs with him as soon as I would with any white lawyer I know. . . ."

A white referring to mulattoes:

"I resent their forwardness, their enviousness, their jealousy, their 'lack of respect,' their pretentiousness, their inconstancy and unreliability, their arrogance and (upon gaining some measure of improved social position) their overweening pride, their boastfulness, cocksureness, 'cheekiness,' [insolence] and general manner of showing off."

A prominent white:

"I'm going to get out of Bahia and go to São Paulo. This town is too full of mulattoes and of mulatto traits. Bahia has become a *pau de sebo* ["greased pole"]. No one wants to get the prizes, but they all want to pull down everyone who tries to get them. This place is full of envy, of ill will and egotism, all mulatto characteristics. The mulatto is not like the black; he is a person without character. He has no honor. He's always envious, he's jealous. he's so busy 'maintaining himself,' pushing himself in where he isn't wanted, that he can't tend to his business or to his job; he can't do anything except make of himself a general nuisance." . . .

A white Brazilian:

"Naturally those persons who have ethnic characteristics more like those of the white race enjoy somewhat greater prestige. But this does not prevent a man who has real worth from attaining a superior position just because he is colored. Absolutely not."

A *preto*:

"Especially in Bahia, where there is much prejudice regarding 'quality,' . . . a *pardo* or a *preto* is, in the presence of whites, never well thought of except he be a person of intellectual capacity or of some means, for in Bahia these two characteristics are very important."

A white student wrote:

"Race for me changes nothing in an individual. I think the *preto*, the *pardo*, and the *branco* should all be treated alike. Distinctions open to the whites ought to be equally open to the blacks and to the mulattoes. It is not they who made themselves black; it is not they who are responsible for their dark color. I have seen or known of *pretos* and *pardos* who on every occasion could readily replace certain *brancos*. Such men as these, in my opinion, are at least equal to the whites. I repeat, not race but personality influences me; a man who has a good character and is intelligent and competent merits distinction, be he white, black, or *pardo*."

12 WHERE IS BRAZIL GOING? SOME HYPOTHESES

As you have already read, when two or more different cultural or racial groups come into contact, at least one of four fundamental social processes begins. At one extreme the most powerful group may exterminate the other groups altogether. If the groups are to live together, however, they may work out some form of accommodation in which the two groups do not intermingle but resolve their differences by severely limiting the amount of contact between them. In most forms of accommodation, one group remains dominant and the others must do its bidding. The groups may also begin to assimilate. While each group maintains its own identity in assimilation, the members of the various groups mingle freely. They work at the same types of jobs, go to the same social functions, and belong to the same organizations. Finally, the groups may actually amalgamate. Through intermarriage the various characteristics that distinguish one group from the other begin to disappear and in time the two separate groups actually become one.

Which of these social processes is going on in Brazil? In 1942 Donald Pierson formulated twenty-five hypotheses about the relations between the different racial groups. These hypotheses were based on his study of three factors: the history of race contact in Bahia province, the ideas and attitudes of the Brazilian people, and the trends that were apparent before World War II. Reading 12 lists Pierson's hypotheses. Readings 13 through 15 will present three case studies of race relations in modern Brazil which you can use to test them. As you consider Pierson's hypotheses, keep the following questions in mind:

1. Does the evidence you have already seen in Readings 7 through 11 support any of Pierson's hypotheses? Does the evidence contradict any of them?
2. What analytical questions would you ask of these three case studies in order to test Pierson's hypotheses? What evidence will you be looking for in the case studies?
3. Do Pierson's hypotheses indicate that the races in Brazil have worked out a system of accommodation? that they have begun to assimilate? that they have begun to amalgamate?
4. Do you think Pierson's hypotheses are valid? What hypotheses have you formed about racial attitudes in Brazil? How do they compare with Pierson's?

Black and White in Bahia

Dr. Pierson is the sociologist who collected the data included in Reading 11.

. . . One might set down in the form of hypotheses for further testing what appear to be the more significant facts about the racial situation in Brazil, especially as it is related to the career of the African and his descendants:

1. Although probably more Africans were imported into Brazil than into the United States, or into any other region of the New World, the Brazilian Negro, as a racial unit, like the Brazilian Indian before him, is gradually but to all appearances inevitably disappearing, being biologically absorbed into the predominantly European population. Race mixture has gone on in an unobtrusive [not easily noticeable] way over a long period of time. In few places in the world, perhaps, has the [mixture of different] races proceeded so continuously and on so extensive a scale.

2. There is not growing up a relatively permanent mixed racial stock. . . . The Brazilian mixed-bloods are absorbing the blacks and are themselves in turn being absorbed by the predominantly European population.

3. In answer to the normal needs of a racial and cultural frontier, a tradition of intermarriage arose and became firmly fixed in the colonial mores [customs]. This appears to be the natural response in all cases of racial contact where the sex ratio is out of balance.

4. Miscegenation, particularly when linked with intermarriage, resulted in bonds of sentiment between parents and offspring which hindered the arising of attitudes of prejudice and at the same time placed the mixed-bloods in a favorable position for advancement.

5. With rise in class, intermarriage between mixed-bloods (especially those of the lighter shades) and whites became increasingly common. Thus, endogamy has for some time been breaking down, particularly along the biological borders of the races, and, with the continued rise of individuals from the inferior status group, this tendency is evidently increasing. Although color and Negroid features are still symbolic of slave origin, still tend to be closely identified with low status and hence to constitute an undeniable handicap to marriage into the upper classes, these physical marks lose their restraining character in proportion to the degree white intermixture increases or, [even more importantly, in proportion to the degree these physical marks are offset by other personal characteristics which do carry prestige locally].

Donald Pierson, **Negroes in Brazil: A Study of Race Contact at Bahia** (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942), pp. 345-50.

"Endogamy" is marriage within a social or racial group.

"Biological borders of the races" refers to those people whose racial characteristics were inherited primarily from one race but contain some characteristics of another. Thus a mulatto would be an individual "along the biological borders" of the white and Negro races.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a state of anarchy swept Haiti, a Caribbean island ruled by white French plantation owners and worked by Negro slaves. In a series of uprisings, Negroes killed some whites and expelled the rest. The uprisings created great fear among the white populace of the American South.

6. In general, slavery in Brazil, as also in the United States, was characterized by the continuous growth of intimate, personal relations between master and slave which tended gradually to humanize the institution and undermine its formal character. The Brazilian moral order became organized, to a considerable extent, on a familial and personal basis.

7. The custom of manumission became firmly intrenched in the Brazilian mores, constituting, under certain circumstances, universally expected behavior. Brazilian Negroes were thus released from a servile status gradually and under circumstances which favored the continuance of those intimate personal ties already built up.

8. Emancipation sentiment in Brazil never suffered from a wave of fear like that which swept our South after the Negro uprising in Haiti and the disorders attendant [following] on the subsequent annihilation [murder] of the Haitian whites.

9. Abolition sentiment and agitation was not limited to any one section of Brazil but, on the contrary, penetrated every community, even that of Bahia, where the institution of slavery was apparently very firmly intrenched. Thus, the "struggle for consistency" in the Brazilian mores went on *inside* each local community, where it had in its favor the intimate and personal relations of individuals who not only lived in close proximity to each other but were also bound together by ties of family, religion, and friendship.

10. Final emancipation came about as the culmination [result] of a widespread liberation movement which for years had dominated the public mind. The release of the last slaves in bondage did not, as in the United States, occur as an incident of civil strife. . . .

11. The Brazilian white has never at any time felt that the black or the mixed-blood offered any serious threat to his own status. No feelings of fear, distrust, apprehension, dread, resentment, or envy have been stirred up as in our South during and following the Civil War, no sense of unwarranted aggressions or attacks.

12. Today, the blacks and the mixed-bloods are represented throughout the entire occupational scale, although, as is to be expected, considering the original slave status of the Negro, his relatively disadvantaged position upon receiving his liberty, and the comparatively brief time he has enjoyed a freely competitive status, the darker portion of the population is still concentrated in the low-pay, low-status employments. However, the blacks, ordinarily but not always paced [led] by the mixed-bloods, are gradually rising.

13. This rise in class of the blacks and the mixed-bloods is recognized not merely in a Negro world, as is largely true of similar advancement in the United States, but by all members of the Brazilian community.

14. Since, then, the blacks, the mixed-bloods, and the whites do not constitute endogamous occupational groupings, the social structure is not that of caste.

15. Nor does the Negro in Brazil appear to be, as he is in the United States, developing into a self-conscious racial minority in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant racial majority.

16. Instead, the entire organization of society tends to take the form of a competitive order in which the individual finds his place on the basis of personal competence and individual achievement more than upon the basis of racial descent. This fact is perhaps best reflected in the common saying: "A rich Negro is a white man, and a poor white man is a Negro."

17. The Brazilian racial situation is, then, sufficiently distinct from that in India, for example, where the social order is organized on the principle of caste, and from those in many parts of the world where a national or racial minority (or minorities) is in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant national or racial majority, to constitute, along with the Hawaiian racial situation and certain others, a distinct type: *a multiracial class society*.

18. There is no deliberate segregation as one finds where races have been embittered for a long time; spatial distribution is largely the consequence of economic sifting. Such isolation as exists is largely due to varying educational levels or to identification with elements of African culture. . . .

19. For the assimilation of the *Africanos* at Bahia, while now far advanced, is not yet complete. African survivals still persist, setting apart to some extent a (comparatively small) portion of the black population.

20. Lynching [is] unknown; "passing" has no point. . . .

21. One drop of African blood does not, as in the United States (if known), class a mixed-blood as a Negro. Instead, many individuals are listed in the official statistics as whites, and are similarly known in the community, who not only have African ancestors but actually give some evidence of this descent in their color and features.

22. Prejudice exists in Brazil; but it is *class* rather than *race* prejudice. It is the kind of prejudice which one finds inside the ranks of the Negro in the United States.

23. It is possible that the Brazilian blacks and mixed-bloods, lacking as they do in most cases the sense of inferiority long characteristic of the Negro in the United States, particularly of the mixed-blood, have been less activated by personal ambition. Feeling themselves less under the necessity of demonstrating to a

"Endogamous occupational groupings" refer to societies in which certain jobs are restricted by law or tradition to members of certain groups. Thus in the caste system in India the individual's position in the hereditary social class determines (unofficially) what job or type of job he holds.

"A multiracial class society" is a society whose classes are composed of various races.

"Spatial distribution is largely the consequence of economic sifting" means that where people live is largely the result of their wealth or poverty.

"African survivals" refers to the continuation, among a small percentage of the Negro population, of various tribal beliefs and cults.

"Passing" refers to the practice among a few very light-skinned American Negroes of identifying with the white community rather than with the Negro community. In Brazil a very light-skinned person would be considered white by the entire society.

hostile white world their individual talents and abilities, they have not had the same incentive [motive] for social advancement and, consequently, have not, perhaps, as a group, risen in class as rapidly as has the Negro in the United States.

24. Although Brazil seems never to have had a formal racial policy, the traditional behavior which originally grew up gave rise to an *informal* racial policy. . . . This ideology is perhaps best summarized in the commonly heard phrase, "We Brazilians are becoming one people."

25. Thus the race problem in Brazil, insofar as there is a race problem, tends to be identified with the resistance which an ethnic group offers, or is thought to offer, to absorption and assimilation.

This is not to say that there are no social distinctions in Brazil; for such are obviously common to all societies, one thing or another serving as a basis. Neither does it mean that there is no discrimination or that the blacks and mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot. But it does mean (*a*) that a man of color may, by reason of individual merit or favorable circumstance, improve his status and even achieve position in the upper levels of society and (*b*) that this position will then be with reference not merely to the darker group whose color he shares but to the total community.

13 CASE STUDY NO. 1: VILA RECÔNCAVO

Vila Recôncavo, the first case study, is situated on the east coast of Brazil near the city of Salvador, the capital of the state of Bahia. The town lies in the heart of the sugar country where Negro slaves once labored on plantations. As a consequence Negroes and mulattoes make up a larger proportion of the population in Vila Recôncavo than they do in other parts of Brazil. Out of fourteen hundred people only twenty-eight "pure" whites could be identified in the town.

As in all communities the people of Vila Recôncavo are divided into several classes. A class is a broad group of individuals who have many things in common. Classes are generally arranged in a hierarchy, or scale, some of them being designated as higher than others. Sociologists determine what classes exist in a community by asking a number of people to rank many individuals according to where they belong on the social scale. Sociologists have found that people in a community basically agree about how specific individuals should be classified on the social ladder. Several factors

enter into how people rank a given individual. Among these factors are the amount of wealth the person has, the family into which he was born, the people with whom he associates, the kind of education he has had, and where he lives in relation to the rest of the community.

The class system in any community is often related to the racial situation. In the United States, for example, most communities in which both whites and Negroes live have two social structures, one for the whites and one for the Negroes. When this situation exists, Negroes and whites have their own social classes. A highly trained Negro doctor, for example, would not be ranked in the same class with a white doctor.

The following case study deals with race and class in rural Brazil. As you read about race relations in Vila Recôncavo, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What factors seem to be the most important in determining a person's class in Vila Recôncavo? How important is race in determining what class a man is in?
2. How does one rise in the class structure? What would a man have to do to move from the local middle class to the local upper class? Would a man's race determine whether or not he could move up the social ladder?
3. Which of Pierson's hypotheses can be supported by the evidence in the case study? Which hypotheses should be rejected or modified?
4. Which of the basic social processes—extermination, accommodation, assimilation, or amalgamation—seems to be going on in Vila Recôncavo?

Race Relations in Vila Recôncavo

Dr. Hutchinson studied race and class structure in Vila Recôncavo. He discovered that four classes existed in the town. In this study he calls them the white aristocracy, the local upper class, the local middle class, and the local lower class. He relates this class system to the various racial groups, the whites, called branco or branco da terra; the mulattoes, pardo, mulato, mestiço, and moreno; and those with darkest skins, called preto.

In the United States an absolute "line" is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, however small the percentage of Negro blood may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this "line" is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between

Harry W. Hutchinson, "Race Relations in a Rural Community of the Bahian Recôncavo" in *Race and Class in Rural Brazil*, edited by Charles Wagley (New York: UNESCO International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 27, 38-45.

"Bahianos" are residents of Bahia.

Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is "pure" white and who is not. Classification by race is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. *Bahianos* of the Recôncavo feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a "pure" white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro, or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or minutely describe each person; they classify according to skin color, according to hair form, and according to facial features, and their classifications or racial types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's color and hair. . . .

Class is one of the most important factors in the everyday lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo. *Who's Who* is well known to all the residents of the community. Almost any resident will say that there are two classes, the rich and the poor. But definitions vary greatly as to what is rich, while practically all agree as to what is poor. Rich means, primarily, having money, a good house, more than one suit of clothing, a horse or mule, a servant to do the housework, and not having to do manual work. It also includes power of some description over other people. Poor is the reverse of all these things: working hard for someone else, a mud house with a dirt floor, one suit of clothes, and one pair of shoes. For everyday ranking, this division into only two classes may serve.

A closer analysis shows that four distinct classes can be recognized. . . . There are many elements which go toward defining the classes—wealth, education, and family. Race is also important. People say that wealth is the most important, education the second, and race the third in importance. Thus race is but one of a number of elements ranking people in a social scale, rather than a separating factor which divides them into distinct groups.

In only one case can we absolutely equate a racial type with a class—the "aristocratic white" of the rural area with upper class. The upper class of Vila Recôncavo is composed of a few families, descendants of the *senhores de engenho* (landowners), who have kept control of their lands, as well as having made a professional life in the capital as a lawyer, engineer, or politician. They are upper class not only in Vila Recôncavo, but also in the capital, Salvador, and their families are known in other great cities of Brazil. The horizon of these people is far wider than that of anyone else in Vila Recôncavo, and the scope of their activities is wider. Thus the gap between this upper class and any of the other classes is enormous. Nevertheless, the relations between it and the

others are close, as this small class spends a large part of the year in the area and travels to it frequently during its stay in Salvador. There is little or no competition between this class and those under it, at least in the rural situation. In the city they are subject to all the stress and strain common to any "high society" group.

In the rural situation this class remains, to a great extent, socially apart from the other strata, but frequently a plantation owner gives a party for the *redondeza* (for the personnel of the nearby plantations). To such a gathering two hundred or three hundred people may come. The whites remain more as spectators than participants, but rules of courtesy and hospitality are rigorously observed, and guests are made to feel at home, without class differences. It is at such a gathering that the local *mulato* intellectuals and leaders will often attempt to show that they are closer to the whites than the other *mestiços* [mixed-bloods].

The chief class competition in Vila Recôncavo is between the second highest class and those below it. This second class, the local upper class, includes all the whites of the town, plus a large number of mulattoes and Negroes. As a rule it is this class which is the most conservative, the most anxious to retain its "superiority," and which bears the brunt of pressures from below. This class will seize upon and magnify any element possible to belittle those who are, in any way, possible competition. It is in this group that the daughters are "guarded," and have neither the freedom of the daughters of the plantation owners nor of the daughters of the fishermen. Ostentation [excessive display] plays a large part in their lives, and the men of this group rarely appear in the street without collar, tie, and suit coat.

. . . They lead an unquestionably dull life, attempting to preserve a way of life belonging to the past, hard put to maintain their economic status and remain gentlemen, with the result that they retreat more and more into a narrower scope of activity. This class is comparatively small, and while there is no upward movement to the class above it, there are many people hanging on its lower rung, coming up from below. Money will carry a person, whatever his racial type, into this group, although in the rural zone it is occupation and increase in money and authority which will elevate an individual, as in the case of the plantation administrator.

It is in the great body of the third class, the local middle class, that we find the most social ascension [rising], or at least the most opportunity for ascension. Anyone in this class can better himself if he so desires, and once again it is wealth which is most important. Racial type enters here perhaps more strongly than in the second stratum [level]; also the measure of desire to climb which the

[person] possesses. For among the majority of this class, there is what appears to be a lack of desire to climb. Perhaps this is allied with the past, with a strong heritage of slavery. At any rate, it is here that class and race are most generally confused. . . .

For this class, after money, marriage is one of the surest methods to climb, and it is a fact that the light-skinned person marries *upward* more easily than the dark-skinned person. No one in any class likes a marriage in which the skin colors are too far apart. Any marriage of dark with light or white will be referred to as *mosca no leite*, or fly in the milk, and a certain repugnance is felt by all. One man, formerly a fisherman, but now a merchant of some means, is a *preto* married to a *branca da terra* who was poor but almost white. This marriage has not helped him much, as his wife did not bring him social position, but it has "lightened" his children. His own status is increased through his financial transactions. But his children, who are lighter, are being educated in the city, and [are] more readily acceptable because of their color and their economic background. Their chances for a better marriage are greater than if they had the same background but were dark.

In another case, a white girl of the local upper class of the town is engaged to a *preto*, who is an engineer in Salvador, but whose family has roots in Vila Recôncavo. There was great resistance to the engagement on the part of the girl's family, and all her friends felt that, although she had a good "catch," that is, a successful man, he was too dark for her. This in spite of the fact that the girl's father is a *branco da terra*, and that her grandmother was dark-skinned. . . .

The fourth class, the lowest, is confined to the town and consists of people who have no steady employment and who have no *patrão* [patron]. They are people caught in the changing economic pattern of the area, from a highly personalized *patrão* economy to a more modern money economy. As yet there is no room for this group in the rural area. There are no "pure" whites here—a few *brancos da terra*, and *mulatos* and *pretos*. Ascension from this class, which is very small, is easier for a woman, especially if she is light-skinned. For a man, only money will take him upward. . . .

. . . There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation center are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who

come straight from the beach to have a “eoke.” All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colors. At parties, which are few, color lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump). . . .

. . . There is the aristocratic group of whites—descendants of the *senhores de engenho*—who form almost a caste, marrying among themselves and living out their own social life apart from the Negro and racially mixed population of the community. Just as the slave owners in the past, however, they depend upon the Negro and *mestiço* for labor; the Negro is pictured as the faithful servant and attendant of the white aristocrat. Again, as in the past, the mulatto who was the offspring of the European master and a slave mother is pictured as a social upstart and an intelligent troublemaker. Yet it is the man of mixed ancestry who holds the intermediate economic and social positions; he is the minor bureaucrat, the technician in the *usina* [factory], and the administrator . . . on the plantations. The essential hierarchy has changed little since colonial times; and the relationship between these aristocratic whites and their Negro and mixed workmen is still a highly personal one lacking in social tensions, since each knows his proper position and each knows his rights, duties, and obligations. . . .

There is no race problem in Vila Rica, nor does prejudice or discrimination work out as it does in other parts of the Western world. A Negro cannot become a member of the aristocracy, but a well-educated and economically successful Negro can have easy social relations with this stratum. Negro ancestry is without doubt a grave disadvantage in economic and social mobility, but there are no political and economic positions closed to a man of Negro or mixed descent. As yet, however, only a few Negroes have moved into high political or economic positions. There is only one plantation owner who is a Negro, and Negroes and *mestiços* hold only minor bureaucratic and political positions in the community. The *prefeito* or mayor has nearly always been drawn from the aristocratic white group, and has never been challenged from the Negro and mixed population. Yet in the town and among the mill workers, “people of color” are beginning to show independence and unwillingness always to occupy a subservient and lowly position. . . .

“Acolytes” assist the person performing the religious service.

14 CASE STUDY NO. 2: MINAS VELHAS

Like Vila Recôncavo, Minas Velhas is a town of about fifteen hundred people located in the province of Bahia. There the similarity ends, however. During the gold-rush days of the nineteenth century, Minas Velhas was a mining town. Recently the mines have become exhausted, and the townsmen have turned to producing handicrafts for their livelihood. Because sugar was never grown in the area, Minas Velhas never acquired a large Negro population. Today, *pretos* and *pardos* make up only 54 percent of the population, in contrast to Vila Recôncavo where better than 90 percent of the inhabitants have Negro ancestors.

In all communities where white and dark races live, each group holds certain stereotypes about the other. A stereotype is the mental image people have of members of a particular group. For example, many people believe that college professors are absent-minded, that they are unrealistic, and that they “walk around with their head in the clouds.” This mental image of professors keeps many people from considering their programs for political and social reform.

Because stereotypes play such an important part in race relations, social scientists try to find out what images one group holds of another. Marvin Harris, who conducted this case study in Minas Velhas, interviewed a large number of whites to learn about their mental image of the *pretos* and *pardos*.

1. What is the stereotype of the Negro in Minas Velhas? Do both whites and Negroes hold the same stereotype? To what degree does stereotype influence race relations in Minas Velhas?
2. In what ways does Minas Velhas differ from Vila Recôncavo? Why?
3. Which of Pierson's hypotheses can be supported by the evidence in this reading? Which hypotheses would have to be rejected or modified?
4. Which of the basic social processes—extermination, accommodation, assimilation, or amalgamation—seems to be going on in Minas Velhas?

Race Relations in Minas Velhas

Dr. Marvin Harris is an anthropologist. Not only did he conduct interviews with the population of Minas Velhas (with the same study team as Dr. Hutchinson), but he also gave members of

all racial groups pictures of white, mulatto, and Negro people and asked them to indicate which person was the most beautiful, the most intelligent, the most industrious, and so forth. From the answers to these questions, he was able to determine what stereotypes the various groups held about members of other groups. He then tried to determine how these stereotypes influenced relations between races in Minas Velhas.

In Minas Velhas, the superiority of the white man over the Negro is considered to be a scientific fact as well as the incontrovertible [indisputable] lesson of daily experience. Literacy only serves to reinforce the folk opinion. . . . A school textbook used in Minas Velhas plainly states the case:

Of all races the white race is the most intelligent, persevering, and the most enterprising. . . . The Negro race is much more retarded than the others. . . .

None of the six urban teachers (who are all, incidentally, white females) could find ground to take exception with this view. They all contended that in their experience the intelligent Negro student was a great rarity. When asked to explain why this should be so, the invariable answer was: “*É uma característica da raça negra.*” (It is a characteristic of the Negro race.) Only one of the teachers thought that some other factor might be involved, such as the amount of interest which a child’s parents took in his schoolwork. But of this she was very uncertain, since the textbook said nothing about it.

Once when a small group of men was asked what Negroes were like, one of them, the mayor’s son, shook his head and replied: “Everyone knows what a disgraceful creature the Negro is! But there’s something I don’t understand and want you to tell me. How did this curse ever come into the world in the first place when Adam and Eve were both white?”

“They must be sons of the devil,” someone else answered immediately.

A Negro informant . . . had a slightly milder version of the origin of the Negro: “They say that Adam and Eve lived in a desert and had many children. One day Eve heard that Christ was coming to see them. She called them from their play in order to clean them up and make them presentable. But she only had one little pot of water. She washed as many as she could but there wasn’t enough water for all of them. For the last two children she only had water enough to wash the soles of their feet and the palms of their hands.”

Marvin Harris, “Race Relations in Minas Velhas, A Community in the Mountain Region of Brazil” in *Race and Class in Rural Brazil*, edited by Charles Wagley (New York: UNESCO International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 51–53, 63, 71–73, 77–78.

Another legend explains the origin of the Negro's inferiority in the following manner: "In the beginning of the world God created two kinds of man—the white and the Negro. One day He decided to find out what their respective attributes were, so He threw them into the bottom of a well and commanded them to get out as they might. The white and the Negro tried to climb up the walls but without success. Finally the white, after thinking for a while, stood on top of the Negro's shoulders and pulled himself over the top. The Negro, left alone on the bottom, made no further effort nor cried out and was left to die. It was on this day that God decided to make the Negro an inferior being, and the slave of the white."

In discussing the Negro as an abstract type, the white is inclined to deride and to slander. Many informants maintained that "The Negro is more like a buzzard than a man," but such statements may vary greatly in emotional tone. They are rarely said with hatred. The mood is generally lighthearted and tempered with earthy appreciation. There is no monotonous, heavy-handed undercurrent of bitterness or revulsion. This feature of the stereotypes held in regard to the Negro must be seen as a function of the Brazilian cultural ethos [beliefs]. The Brazilians are inclined to be lighthearted and gay; they laugh easily and their moods change quickly. In Minas Velhas, to the white and to a certain extent to the Negro himself, the Negro is primarily a curious, laughable anomaly. He is looked upon as a sport of nature, as a being with certain substandard and grotesque characteristics which make him amusing rather than disgusting. A white man will say: "*Negro desgraçado. Que bicho feio!*" (Miserable Negro! What an ugly creature!) and smile broadly as though he were speaking of some rare amusing freak. . . .

How then are we to consider the defamatory stereotypes? Is there any connection between how the white tries to think about the Negro and how the white actually behaves toward him? Are the slanderous stereotypes a factor in race relations? The answer is an emphatic yes. . . .

On the best street, known popularly as *Rua do Clube* (Club Street), the largest and best cared-for building is that of the *Clube Social*—the traditional recreational center of the city. The *Clube* has a charter granted by the State of Bahia which declares its *raison d'être* [reason for being] as "Benevolent, Educational, and Recreational." In practice, the *Clube's* charitable efforts are confined largely to an elaborate paper-work scheme of distributing non-existent funds; its educational efforts reside in a dust-shrouded library of about five hundred books and pamphlets, most of them in foreign languages; but the *Clube's* recreational function is well

An "anomaly" is something that is considered different from what is usual or normal. A "sport of nature" is an animal or a plant that shows a marked physical difference from the normal type.

exercised. One room is dedicated to a billiard table which is used nightly by the youthful members. Checkers and backgammon are played in another room that contains a radio and a file of Salvador newspapers. In a back room a card game can usually be found in progress. The largest room is reserved for the frequent dances which the *Clube* sponsors, and which are considered the town's most important social events. The *Clube's* president, who is also the state tax collector, is quick to assure visitors that anyone can join. The dues are in fact insignificant but only about one third of the town's families actually belong. A powerful and thinly disguised selective principle operates to restrict membership. While anyone can join, he must wear a suit and a tie in order to enter the building. More to the point, if anyone can enter the dancing room, it is one of the fundamental axioms of life in Minas Velhas that the girls are very particular whom they will dance with. During the score of dances which were observed at the *Clube* only one Negro—a son of Waldemar [a Negro member of the Municipal Council]—was ever seen on the dance floor. His partner, moreover, was always one of his white sisters-in-law. The rest of the dancers are white or mulatto. These dances provide an excellent opportunity to see who's who. For at every dance those who cannot enter the *Clube*, as well as those who can, make their appearance. The outgroup gathers around in the streets and presses close against the open window of the ballroom, peering in at the proceedings with vaguely wistful eyes. The crowd outside stays there as long as the dance goes on. Sometimes they are as numerous as the dancers. The light which streams out of the ballroom shows most of them to be Negroes. But many mulattoes not much darker than those who are dancing and a handful of whites also appear. If you ask the people inside the *Clube* who the people standing outside are, you will get two interchangeable answers—“*os pobres*” (the poor) and “*os pretos*” (the Negroes). If you ask the people outside who the dancers are, you will get three interchangeable answers: “*os brancos*” (the whites), “*os ricos*” (the rich), and “*gente da alta*” (high-class people).

At this stage the reader ought not to be too upset by the fact that all races are represented in both groups, and yet one group is called “the whites” and the other “the Negroes.” This confusion of terms has a sound basis in fact and is not altogether illogical. It does not mean that the people of Minas Velhas cannot distinguish a white from a Negro. It simply means that by and large the people who belong to the *Clube* are white. Those who are not have an excess of money or some other prestige factor in a ratio inversely proportional to their racial “deficiency.” By and large the group at the window is Negro; those who are not Negroes have a deficiency in

money or some other prestige factor inversely proportional to their racial "excellence." The "whites" consist of people with the following characteristics: (a) white and wealthy; (b) white and of average wealth; (c) white and poor; (d) mulatto and wealthy; (e) mulatto and of average wealth; (f) Negro and wealthy.

The "Negroes" consist of people with these characteristics: (a) white and poverty-stricken; (b) mulatto and poverty-stricken; (c) mulatto and poor; (d) Negro and poverty-stricken; (e) Negro and poor; (f) Negro and of average wealth. Approximately 90 percent of the Negroes, 50 percent of the mulattoes, and 10 percent of the whites cannot dance at the *Clube*. . . .

It is the Negro of "average wealth" whose feelings are most impassioned, and whose actions are likely to be most militant, over the genuine racial barrier which excludes him from the white man's domain [field of activity]. He is part of the large group of artisans who in their small-scale home workshops are all limited by an almost primitive machineless technology to the same meager level of production. Their tools are the same, their skills equal, they make the same products; yet some of them can dance in the *Clube Social* and others cannot. Sebastiana, for example, is a Negress and a highly skilled iron worker. She owns her own home forge and turns out stirrup frames which are in constant demand. Sebastiana has a reputation for being one of the more outspoken critics of the *brancos-ricos*, and often takes the initiative in organizing the *Reis dos Pretos*. "People say that I want to be better than the whites," she says. "But it isn't that. I am the mistress of my life. I know just what I do. I have my work just like they have, my craft just like they have, so why are they better than I am?" Six months after making this statement, and by way of proving it, Sebastiana married a white man. The man had no profession and no steady income, and she had to set about teaching him to be a blacksmith. Thus it was not all the whites with whom she was angry, but only those who claimed they were better than she was and had no right to do so. . . .

15 CASE STUDY NO. 3: SÃO PAULO

The two previous case studies analyzed two different types of rural areas in Brazil. In the twentieth century, however, Brazil is becoming more and more urbanized. Just as rural areas differ, so do urban areas. Rio de Janeiro is not the same as Salva-

dor; nor is São Paulo the same as Rio. Even so, it is important to examine closely the nature of race relations in one of Brazil's large metropolitan areas. São Paulo provides a good sample.

São Paulo is Brazil's twentieth-century boom town. Everything that characterizes growing industrial cities in North America and Europe takes place in São Paulo. It is the center of finance, the hub of railroads, the heart of Brazilian industry, and the goal of thousands of immigrants. São Paulo grew from a small provincial town to an urban metropolis because it is the major distribution point for Brazilian coffee. Using capital gained from selling coffee, São Paulo businessmen invested in a wide range of industries. In addition, businessmen from the United States, Germany, Italy, and Great Britain have invested large sums in São Paulo industry. The growth of industry created a demand for labor; hence, immigrants from all over Europe, Japan, and the Middle East flocked to São Paulo bringing with them their attitudes to race relations. More recently, increasing numbers of native Brazilians have moved to the city as well.

How can race relations in a gigantic urban area be measured? Today's reading contains excerpts from such an attempt. After you have read the article, return to Reading 1 by Era Bell Thompson. Compare the hypotheses advanced in Readings 1 and 15. As you read Reading 15, ask the following questions of the evidence:

1. What are the conclusions of the two studies? Do the conclusions contradict or reinforce each other?
2. Why should attitudes to race differ in rural and urban Brazil? What conditions may help to explain the differences? What role may the presence of middle-class first and second generation European immigrants play in attitudes to race in Brazil's cities?
3. On the basis of the evidence in the two studies, which of Pierson's hypotheses do you think can be supported? Which would have to be rejected or modified?
4. Which of the basic social processes—extermination, accommodation, assimilation, or amalgamation—seems to be going on in São Paulo?

Stereotypes in São Paulo

Roger Bastide and Pierre van den Berghe are sociologists. In the following article they describe a questionnaire which was administered in the mid-1950's to college students in São Paulo. From the data they developed their hypothesis on racial relations.

Roger Bastide and
Pierre van den Berghe,
"Stereotypes, Norms
and Interracial Be-
havior in São Paulo,
Brazil," *American Socio-
logical Review*, Vol. 22,
No. 6 (December 1957),
pp. 689-94.

Although the racial situation in Brazil differs markedly from the situation in the United States, there is nevertheless a racial problem in Brazil. Large-scale industrialization and urbanization in the great metropolises of the South such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo have brought about changes in the traditional attitudes and behavior between the various ethnic and racial groups.

Lucila Hermann, from the Faculty of Economics of the University of São Paulo, devised a questionnaire to determine the patterns of race relations in the white middle class of São Paulo. The questionnaire includes four parts:

1. A list of forty-one stereotypes derived from [American stereotypes], from a content analysis of Brazilian literature, and from oral folklore. For each listed trait (foresight, suggestibility, self-control, intelligence, etc.), the subject was asked whether he considered, first Negroes, then mulattoes, as inferior, equal, or superior to whites.
2. A series of twenty-seven questions on social norms of behavior. For example, should white and Negro children play together? Should whites and Negroes exchange courtesy visits? Should they intermarry? etc.
3. A series of sixteen questions on actual behavior of the subjects, similar in content to some questions of part 2.
4. A series of sixteen questions on hypothetical personal behavior put in the conditional form: Would you marry (fall in love with, go out with) a Negro? a light-skinned mulatto? etc.

The sample . . . consists of 580 "white" students from five different teachers' colleges in São Paulo. We have good reason to believe that the questionnaire was applied to whole classes of students in a "captive" classroom situation. The percentage of refusals is unknown, but we think it was very low. We had to reject only one almost blank questionnaire. Most schedules were very conscientiously and completely filled out. The age distribution varies from 15 to 44, but it leans on the young side with a mean age of 19.9 years; 483 subjects are women, 97 are men. Socioeconomic data on parents of the subjects are incomplete but they indicate a predominantly lower-middle and upper-middle class background. Seventy-five percent of the fathers have nonmanual occupations. . . . As concerns ethnic origin of parents, 384 subjects are children of Brazilians, 102 have one foreign parent, 85 have both parents foreign. Of the 384 children of nationals 232 have at least one foreign grandparent. This ethnic situation seems representative of the middle class of São Paulo where third-generation Brazilians dominate only

in the upper and in the lower class. The results of this study hold only for the "white" middle class of São Paulo. . . .

Stereotypes against Negroes and mulattoes are widespread. Seventy-five percent of the sample accept twenty-three or more stereotypes against Negroes. No one rejects all stereotypes against Negroes. For mulattoes the overall picture is somewhat more favorable, though very similar. Mulattoes are judged inferior or superior to whites on the same traits as Negroes but with somewhat lower percentages. The most widely accepted stereotypes are lack of hygiene (accepted by 91 percent for Negroes), physical unattractiveness (87 percent), superstition (80 percent), lack of financial foresight (77 percent), lack of morality (76 percent), aggressiveness (73 percent), laziness (72 percent), and lack of persistence at work (62 percent). . . .

Fifty-five percent of the sample think that Negroes are intellectually equal to whites (only 43 percent consider Negroes less intelligent than white), and only 22 percent of the sample accept Negroes as musically gifted. The similarities with the North American stereotypes are more numerous than the differences.

Going back to the comparison between stereotypes against Negroes and stereotypes against mulattoes, one very important difference appears behind the overall similarity. Two hundred sixty-nine subjects judge Negroes as they do mulattoes; 268 subjects are more favorable to mulattoes than to Negroes; finally, a small group of 43 subjects is more favorable to Negroes than to mulattoes. We compared this last group with the 45 subjects having the most extreme differences in the second group of 268. This comparison between the two extreme groups reveals no statistically significant [important] differences for age, sex, nationality of the parents, or family income. . . .

We may hypothesize that there are two contrasting "schools of thought" in the sample. These two "schools" share a belief in the superiority of the white "race." But the group more favorable to mulattoes considers the latter superior to Negroes because mulattoes are nearer to whites. It is thus less opposed to miscegenation and in general more tolerant. The group more favorable to Negroes expresses a much more virulent [harsh] form of racism. It judges Negroes superior to mulattoes because the former are a "pure race." Any miscegenation is rejected and the other manifestations of prejudice are likewise stronger. If our hypothesis is correct, there is in Brazil, at least among part of the population, an extreme form of racial prejudice rather than a milder aesthetic prejudice of "physical appearance," which has been propounded by certain students of Brazilian racial relations. . . .

The question remains entirely open whether the genesis of such extreme racial prejudice goes back to slavery or to the dynamics of social mobility and of the labor market, where mulattoes might be considered more dangerous competitors than Negroes. Further research on this problem would be highly desirable. . . . Manifest differences appear between men and women in our sample. Men accept more stereotypes than women but are much more tolerant. . . . These differences appear for practically all questions taken separately but particularly for the question on intermarriage. Men are much more ready to marry light-skinned mulattoes than women. This finding is in agreement with the study of Pierson [Donald Pierson] in Bahia. . . .

The existence of racial prejudice against Negroes and mulattoes has been established. Opinions vary greatly from relative tolerance to relative intolerance; freedom of attitudes and, to a lesser degree, of behavior is relatively great: social norms are directive rather than compulsive. Equality of opportunities is largely accepted; casual relations are widely tolerated but intimate relationships with colored people are frowned upon. Mulattoes are generally less discriminated against than Negroes but a small minority "prefers" Negroes to mulattoes. This small minority exhibits a much more virulent form of prejudice against both Negroes and mulattoes than does the general sample. Sex is an important determinant of prejudice. So is socioeconomic status, although our data are too uncertain and incomplete to determine the exact relationship. Ethnic origin of the parents likewise plays an important role.

16 RACE RELATIONS IN BRAZIL: A SUMMARY

Brazil has worked out a system of race relations that is unique in the modern world. But is Brazil the racial democracy that it is reputed to be?

The readings in this unit reveal that Brazil is not completely free of race prejudice. Many white Brazilians hold stereotypes about Negroes and mulattoes. The lower classes of Brazilian society tend to consist of men with darker skins. City slums are inhabited almost exclusively by *pardos* and *pretos*. On the plantations the black man continues to work for the white owner. Still, most Brazilians, *branco*, *pardo*, and *preto* alike, claim that racial discrimination does not exist in the extreme forms in Brazil that it does in other parts of the world.

Is there any justification for such a claim? The readings that have preceded this summary provide some evidence for answering this question. This final article draws together much of the evidence. As you read, consider these questions:

1. What is the author's hypothesis about race relations in Brazil? Does he believe no racial prejudice exists? Does he believe that the Brazilian claim to racial democracy is or is not largely a myth?
2. Does the evidence in this unit support Wagley's hypotheses about race relations in Brazil? How would you modify his argument on the basis of what you have read?
3. Which of the social processes—extermination, accommodation, assimilation, or amalgamation—does Wagley think is going on in Brazil?
4. Could the United States solve its racial problems in the same way that Brazil has? Why or why not?

Race and Class in Brazil: a Summary

Dr. Wagley is the anthropologist who analyzed social class structure in Reading 10.

It is one of the most cherished national themes that Brazil is a racial democracy. Since the abolition of slavery in 1888, there has been no legal form of racial discrimination or segregation in Brazil. Innumerable individuals of Negroid or mixed physical appearance have filled important roles in Brazil's national life since the time of the empire. All books on Brazil cite names of Negroes and mulattoes of importance. . . .

The world championship soccer team of 1962 covered the whole spectrum of skin color: Pelé, the "King of Soccer," who is a Negro, was injured but was competently replaced by Amarildo, a mulatto. Several players were clearly white. This tradition of racial democracy is a source of pride to Brazilians. More than any other country in the Western world, Brazil is recognized, cited, and applauded as proof that racial democracy can work. But the facts of Brazilian race and class relations are not as simple as that. They require some explanation, sometimes even to Brazilians themselves.

Basic to the understanding of race and social class relations is the Brazilian concept of "race." The official statistics use only four categories, namely, *branco* (white), *pardo* (brown), *preto* (black), and *amarelo* (yellow). However, the people in the street have other racial categories which vary from one region to another. In one

Charles Wagley, *An Introduction to Brazil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 132–34, 138–44.

small town in the eastern highlands described by Marvin Harris, they recognized in addition to “whites” and “Negroes” five other types: *moreno*, *chulo*, *mulato*, *creolo*, and *cabo verde*. Harris describes these types:

The *moreno* has wavy hair with the skin coloring of a heavily sunburnt white. The *mulato* has crisp, curly hair and is darker than the *moreno*. The *chulo* has crisp, rolled hair and his skin is the “color of burnt sugar or tobacco.” The *creolo* has fine wavy hair, is almost as dark as the *chulo*, but has smoother skin. The *cabo verde* has very straight hair and is the color of the Negro. . . .

The existence of recognized intermediate types is important to the understanding of the Brazilian race-class system and to its functioning. To put it simply, a twofold Jim Crow system could never work in Brazil. A mulatto is not a Negro, and a *moreno* (dark white) is not a mulatto. If Brazilians wanted to install a Jim Crow system, they would have to provide at least four or more sets of schools, hospitals, sections on public transportation, and restaurants. . . .

The claims for a Brazilian racial democracy must be judged also against widely documented color prejudice in almost every part of the nation. This color prejudice is expressed in many ways, some subtle and some overt. Almost all studies of race relations in Brazil have cited the traditional derogatory [openly degrading] sayings about Negroes. . . .

Similar traditional sayings involving derogatory stereotypes have been recorded in widely separate Brazilian communities and are part of the Brazilian cultural heritage. They portray the Negro as inferior in intelligence, dependability, morality, honesty, and physical appearance. Attitude questionnaires and social-distance tests reveal similar prejudice against the Negro, and in a milder and sometimes somewhat different form, against the mulatto as well. White Brazilians indicate in verbal responses some resistance to working with Negroes, living with them, dancing with them, accepting them into the family, and marrying them—generally in about that order of intensity. Many of the overt derogatory statements about Negroes heard in Brazil are as shocking as those heard in the Deep South of the United States, although the social-distance tests show less reluctance to associate with Negroes at all levels.

Furthermore, there have been and still are overt forms of discrimination in terms of skin color, although this is strictly illegal. North American Negroes have been surprised to find that there were no rooms available in Brazilian upper-class hotels, although reservations had been made. Until recently it was well known in

The “Jim Crow system” refers to the segregation of Negroes and whites in the United States South.

Brazil that the foreign service excluded people of darker skins (some have now been admitted) and that the traditionally upper-class naval academy accepted only white candidates. Certain private schools, both primary and secondary, were until recently homogeneously white or accepted a brilliant mulatto or two on scholarships as a matter of principle. Then, too, there was (now discontinued) a way of warning dark mulattoes and Negroes that they need not apply for openings as clerks or office workers—an advertisement reading “Needed: young lady of good appearance for office position” could be inserted in the newspaper, and it was clearly understood what “good appearance” meant.

The existence of color prejudice and even of discrimination does not mean, for several reasons, that the Brazilian racial democracy is a myth. First, there is obviously a wide gulf in Brazil between what people say and what they do, between verbal and social behavior. The emotional tone surrounding color prejudice is generally lighthearted and amused, and mixed with a liberal sprinkling of earthy appreciation. Oracy Nogueira records the heckling of a football team by fans in racial terms so strong that they would have caused a race riot in the United States. . . .

“Oracy Nogueira” is a
Brazilian sociologist.

Secondly, many of the stereotypes and attitudes are survivals from slavery times and are shared by the southern United States and the West Indies. There is a vast difference, however, between the social effect of these attitudes and stereotypes in the United States and in Brazil. In the United States, they are aimed against all people of known Negro ancestry, regardless of physical appearance. Thus, such attitudes, derogatory stereotypes, and forms of prejudice and discrimination are aimed against a large group that varies from Caucasoid to Negroid in physical appearance. It is a group determined by ancestry and descent, not by any objective physical anthropological standards of measurement. In Brazil, on the other hand, the criterion [standard] is physical appearance. As . . . Oracy Nogueira puts it, in Brazil there is “race prejudice of mark” (i.e., prejudice of appearance) rather than “race prejudice of origin.” Color and other physical characteristics such as hair, lip, and nose type are visible marks and symbols of one’s social class, and probably of one’s slave ancestry. But through miscegenation succeeding generations can and do become lighter. Color prejudice or “prejudice of mark” decreases as the skin lightens. . . .

Thirdly, perhaps the most important difference between race relations in Brazil and in the United States is that color is but one of the criteria by which people are placed in the total social hierarchy. Before two Brazilians decide how they ought to behave toward each other, they must know more than the fact that one

is dark-skinned and the other light-skinned. A Brazilian is never merely a white man or a man of color; he is a rich, well-educated white man of a good family or a poor, uneducated white man from the *povo*; he is a well-educated mulatto with a good job, or a poor, uneducated Negro. Other criteria, such as income, education, family connections, and even personal charm and special abilities or aptitudes come into play when placing a person in terms of the prestige hierarchy or even of social class. Above all, these multiple criteria determine who will be admitted to hotels, restaurants, and most social clubs; who will get preferential treatment in stores, churches, nightclubs, and travel conveyances [vehicles]; and who will have the best chance among a number of marriage suitors. . . .

Generally, when an individual improves his social and economic situation, he soon moves upward to another club or association more in keeping with his new status. The Brazilian sociologist Fernando Henrique Cardoso makes this point in an article describing the results of his studies of race relations in southern Brazil. He describes the pride shown when one of the members of a club made up of Negroes graduates from normal school or another school of higher learning or is appointed to an important position. The members of the club hold a dance or a luncheon in his honor. "The orator," he writes, "recalls that . . . the young doctor, who is now called by this title, will in all probability soon stop coming to the club which is thus honoring him, since henceforth he will formally act as if he belonged to another social level."

Thus, in Brazil, race relations and social class are intertwined in an intricate manner. They are not separate phenomena as they are apt to be elsewhere. There is no middle-class Negro society separate from white middle-class society. But this does not mean that color prejudice and discrimination can be entirely reduced to class prejudice; it is not simply that the colored populations have not improved their status because the socioeconomic system of Brazil has afforded them few opportunities for upward mobility. It would seem that their physical appearance is an added disability, although negligible as compared to other countries. For nowhere in Brazil does one's physical appearance, one's race, constitute an impossible barrier to upward mobility.

SUGGESTED READINGS

BISHOP, ELIZABETH, *Brazil*. New York: Time, Inc. The editors of *Life* captured the fascination and grandeur of Brazil in this magnificent pictorial study. The life of the urban elite, the untamed world of the

interior land, the surviving aborigines, the folkways of the city, the changing social scene, the blight of poverty, and revolutionary fervor and hopes for the future are among many of the subjects treated in this book.

BURNS, BRADFORD E., editor, *A Documentary History of Brazil*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. One of the major historical themes forming the basis for the selection of these documents concerns the fusion of the three races in Brazil. Excerpts from Gilberto Freyre's classic *The Masters and the Slaves* are included as well as articles on slavery, plantation life, and social classes.

FREYRE, GILBERTO, *The Masters and the Slaves*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. This difficult book is considered by many to be the classic study of intellectual life in Brazil. Of it one expert on Brazil has said, "Until the appearance of this remarkable social history of Brazil, [Brazilian] writers were preoccupied with European subjects and paid little attention to their own country or its problems. . . . The great merit of this remarkable book is that it caused Brazilians to discover themselves. Instead of running away from race mixture as a scandal and a shame, they find that their literature, music, art, and architecture have been given vitality and richness through the fusion of races and cultures. They consider Brazil a model for the world to follow and Brazilian culture as a uniquely rich contribution to civilization."

MAIER, JOSEPH and RICHARD W. WEATHERHEAD, editors, *Politics of Change in Latin America*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc. Part III of this anthology is entitled "The Brazilian Variant," and discusses sociopolitical conditions in Brazil. The basic theme is patriarchal family relationships.

PENDLE, GEORGE, *A History of Latin America*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc. The author, who has been closely connected with Latin America for over thirty years, has traced the development of Latin American civilization from its Indian background to contemporary times, placing current events in the proper context. Chapters on Brazil describe Portuguese Brazil, independence, transition from empire to republic, and social reform and revolution.

PETERSON, HAROLD F., *Latin America*. New York: The Macmillan Company. This is one in a series of pamphlets entitled "Culture Regions of the World." It provides an excellent introduction to the study of Latin America, utilizing maps, charts, graphs, illustrations, and quotations. An annotated bibliography is also included.

SZULC, TAD, *Latin America*. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica Press, Inc. The author, a member of the staff of *The New York Times*, has

spent many years working and studying in Latin America. In this "World Affairs Workshop" pamphlet, he analyzes Latin America's current rebellions, efforts at economic and social development, and relations with the rest of the world. Excellent photographs, several of Brazil, are also included.

TANNENBAUM, FRANK, *Slave and Citizen, the Negro in the Americas*. New York: Vintage Books, Random House, Inc. A classic study by a leading authority on Latin America, this well-documented book contrasts the legal and social positions of the Negro in the United States and in Latin America. It is particularly valuable for its citations of primary accounts of the treatment of Negro slaves.

WAGLEY, CHARLES, editor, *Race and Class in Rural Brazil*. New York: UNESCO. This is the first book to be published as a result of the UNESCO research program undertaken to study race relations in Brazil. The basic theme of the studies undertaken by Harry W. Hutchinson, Marvin Harris, Charles Wagley, and Ben Zimmerman is that Brazil sets an example of racial democracy for the rest of the world.

WEBB, KEMPTON E., *Today's World in Focus—Brazil*. Boston: Ginn and Company. The people, land, resources, foreign affairs, and culture of Brazil are clearly and in scholarly fashion presented in this concise study. Photographs, maps, a glossary of useful words and phrases, Brazilian recipes, and a bibliography are also included.

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Boldface page numbers refer to definitions of social science terms.

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